

# The Ancient Israel Debate: A Jewish Postcolonial Perspective

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## Abstract

*In 1925 R. A. S. MacAlister explained that the purpose of archaeological excavation is not confirmation but illustration, and he lampooned persons who excavate in order to prove the truth or untruth of Scripture. Nevertheless, archaeologist Ze'ev Herzog shocked an Israeli public when he declared in a newspaper article in October 1999 that since archaeology had found no evidence for the patriarchs, the exodus, or King David he could not quite understand why people still read the Bible. The shocked Israeli public and a number of archaeologists and historians appear to share in the 19th century myth that anything created by the Jews after 586 BCE is of no consequence. A Postcolonial reading of the history of ancient and modern Israel offers the promise of 1) fully understanding the subtext of the current debate; and 2) a return to objectivity, which would foster a healthier climate for biblical and archaeological research.\**

## Herzog's Challenge

In an article entitled "Deconstructing the Walls of Jericho," which appeared in the prestigious Israel newspaper *Ha'aretz* 29 October 1999 Tel

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Aviv University archaeologist Ze'ev Herzog wrote the following, which sent a shock wave through the Israeli public:

Following 70 years of intensive excavations in the Land of Israel, archaeologists have found out: The patriarchs' acts are legendary stories, we did not sojourn in Egypt or make an exodus, we did not conquer the land. Neither is there any mention of the empire of David and Solomon. Those who take an interest have known these facts for years, but Israel is a stubborn people and doesn't want to hear about it. This is what archaeologists have learned from their excavations in the Land of Israel: the Israelites were never in Egypt, did not wander in the desert, did not conquer the land in a military campaign and did not pass it on to the 12 tribes of Israel. Perhaps even harder to swallow is that the united monarchy of David and Solomon, which is described by the Bible as a regional power, was at most a small tribal kingdom. And it will come as an unpleasant shock to many that the God of Israel, YHWH, had a female consort<sup>1</sup> and that the early Israelite religion adopted monotheism only in the waning period of the monarchy and not at Mount Sinai.<sup>2</sup> Most of those who are engaged in scientific work in the interlocking spheres of the Bible, archaeology and the history of the Jewish people — and who once went into the field looking for proof to corroborate the Bible story — now agree that the historic events relating to the stages of the Jewish people's emergence are radically different from what that story tells.<sup>3</sup>

### Shock wave and response

The shock wave sent through the Israeli public resulted in the convening of conferences and symposia all over Israel at which archaeologists, historians, experts in the cultures of the ancient Near East, and Bible critics discussed the issues raised by Prof. Herzog before standing-room only audiences. For almost a generation it seemed that the majority of Israelis had been ready to abandon the Bible and the biblical period to the Orthodox minority. For the first time in many years it appeared that that virtually the full spectrum of the Israeli public sensed that all Israel had a true stake in the study of ancient Israel and its environment.

I too was privileged to participate in one of these symposia held in the senate chamber of Ben-Gurion University of the Negev on December 14, 1999. The symposium was given the provocative title, "Has the Biblical Period disappeared?" Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences Dean, Prof.

<sup>1</sup> For the tendentious nature of this provocative remark see Smith 1990, pp. 16, 93; Wiggins 1993, pp. 102, 120, 128 and *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lemche 1988, pp. 256-257.

<sup>3</sup> Herzog 1999.

Jimmy Weinblatt opened the symposium noting that it is indeed amazing that we all know Michelangelo's David but that we do not have a portrait of David from biblical times. Prof. Weinblatt also expressed the view that the Jewish Bible will continue to interest and inspire people around the world long after the present shock wave has ceased to reverberate.

In his presentation entitled "Exiling the Bible from the Biblical Period," Prof. Victor Hurowitz of Ben-Gurion University suggested that the discipline of "biblical history," in which, as it were, extra-biblical sources — both written and unwritten — were used to illumine the biblical account had been banished from the academy because the reliability of the Bible as an historical document had been undermined by the new school of minimalists such as Thomas L. Thompson,<sup>4</sup> Niels Peter Lemche,<sup>5</sup> and Keith W. Whitelam. Whitelam's book is called *The Invention of Ancient Israel: The Silencing of Palestinian History*.<sup>6</sup> The political overtones of Whitelam's new reading of history are revealed in the title of his book.<sup>7</sup>

Prof. Maynard Maidman of York University of Toronto discussed what he called the rise and fall of the historiography of the patriarchal period and he referred to a previous generation's enthusiastic embrace of the sort of pseudo-science you read in much of Speiser's *Genesis* in the Anchor Bible series<sup>8</sup> or in Nahum Sarna's *Understanding Genesis*.<sup>9</sup> Typical is what Sarna writes concerning the battle recorded in the 14<sup>th</sup> Chapter of Genesis:

The invasion route followed by the eastern kings is of considerable interest. Its topographic soundness has been effectively demonstrated in the light of extensive archaeological surveys undertaken in recent years. We do not know the identity of the places of origin of the invaders except for Elam, the territory lying north of the Persian Gulf, west of the Tigris river in modern Iran.<sup>10</sup>

Any reasonable person would ask, "If we do not know where they came from how can we be certain of the topographic soundness of the route they took?"

In any case, Sarna concludes his discussion of Genesis 14 with the following:

It is not unreasonable to assume that the story of the battle of the Kings in the Book of Genesis preserves an authentic echo of a great military expedition

<sup>4</sup> Thompson 1999.

<sup>5</sup> Lemche 1998.

<sup>6</sup> Whitelam 1996; see especially, pp. 68-69.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Boer 2001, p. 101.

<sup>8</sup> Speiser 1964; typical are pp. 91-92 concerning Gen. 12:10-20 and its parallels in Gen. 20:1-18 and 26:6-11.

<sup>9</sup> Sarna 1966.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 114.

which put an end to the Middle Bronze I [2100 BCE] settlements. The annals recording the catastrophic events may well have furnished the basis for the biblical account.<sup>11</sup>

Not the least of the problems presented by this story is the assumption shared by Genesis 14 and by Genesis 18-19 that at the time of the events depicted in Genesis 14-18 the Dead Sea had not yet come into being; that the area occupied in historical time by the Dead Sea was a fertile valley called the Valley of Siddim. No archaeologist or historian in his/her right mind would suggest that any narrative, which refers to events, which preceded the geological datum known as the Dead Sea, belongs to the realm of historical time.

Herzog rightly points out that the kind of pseudo-science exemplified by Sarna's *Understanding Genesis* derives from the influence of William Foxwell Albright:

The main push behind archaeological research in Palestine was the country's relationship with the Holy Scriptures. The first excavators in Jericho and Shechem (Nablus) were biblical researchers who were looking for the remains of the cities cited in the Bible. Archaeology assumed momentum with the activity of William Foxwell Albright, who mastered the archaeology, history and languages of the Land of Israel and the ancient Near East. Albright, an American whose father was a priest of Chilean descent, began excavating in Palestine in the 1920's. His stated approach was that archaeology was the principal scientific means to refute the critical claims against the historical veracity of the Bible stories, particularly those of the Wellhausen school in Germany. The school of biblical criticism that developed in Germany beginning in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, of which Julius Wellhausen was a leading figure, challenged the historicity of the Bible stories and claimed that biblical historiography was formulated, and in large measure actually 'invented', during the Babylonian exile. Bible scholars, the Germans in particular, claimed that the history of the Hebrews, as a consecutive series of events beginning with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and proceeding through the passage to Egypt, the enslavement and the exodus, and ending with the conquest of the land and the settlement of the tribes of Israel, was no more than a later reconstruction of events with a theological purpose.

Albright believed that the Bible is a historical document, which, although it had gone through several editing stages, nevertheless basically reflected the ancient reality. He was convinced that if the ancient remains of Palestine were uncovered, they would furnish unequivocal proof of the historical truth of the events relating to the Jewish people in its land.<sup>12</sup>

We will soon come back to the Wellhausen connection and its significance for the development of biblical studies around the world and for the unique place which was given to the Iron Age or pre-exilic period, *i.e.*, the

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 115.

<sup>12</sup> Herzog 1999.

period ending with the destruction of Solomon's Temple in 586 BCE, in the historical consciousness of the modern State of Israel in the making, *i.e.*, prior to Israel's declaration of statehood on 14 May 1948.

The third lecture at the Beersheva symposium was presented by Prof. Anson Rainey of Tel Aviv University, expert in the historical geography, languages and archaeology of the ancient Near East. He argued for a bit of balance between the nihilism reflected in the newspaper article by Zeev Herzog and the foolish attempt of a previous generation to treat the stories of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and the Exodus from Egypt as history. Rainey suggested that the Israelites indeed arrived in the land of Israel from across the Jordan River as suggested in the Book of Joshua. Rainey and Prof. Eliezer D. Oren, distinguished archaeologist of Ben-Gurion University, concurred that no evidence had been found to confirm the arrival of the Israelites from Egypt as described in the Pentateuch, Joshua and Judges and taken for granted by the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE Prophets Hosea and Amos. Prof. Mordechai Cogan of the Dept. of Jewish History at the Hebrew University pointed to the many stylistic parallels between the annals of Assyrian kings in the 9<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE and the Israelite and Judean historical sources quoted in the biblical Book of Kings. These parallels, Cogan suggested, indicate that the lists of kings of Israel and Judah and what they accomplished found in the Book of Kings should be treated seriously.

### MacAlister's Forgotten Legacy

I introduced my concluding remarks at the end of the symposium with the following caveat published more than seventy-five years ago by R. A. S. MacAlister, one of the founders of Holy Land archaeology:

A number of years ago an American gentleman — known to the present writer, but now deceased — was fired with an ambition to excavate in Palestine. In order to raise funds for this purpose, he went to interview a wealthy relative, and laid his proposals before him. The relative was, however, cautious. He wanted to know something about the kinsman's ultimate purpose in this undertaking. The other thought to appeal to the known religious sympathies of the man of wealth, by telling him that he hoped "to prove the truth of the Bible": but he was met with the unanswerable question, "Yes, but suppose you prove the Bible *isn't* true, what then?"<sup>13</sup>

MacAlister continues as follows:

Both speakers were absurdly wrong in their ideas of the aims and results of excavation. The Biblical record, like any other literary document, must stand or fall on its own merits. It cannot be either authenticated or disproved, as a

<sup>13</sup> MacAlister 1925, p. 266.

whole, by excavation. In minor points of detail it can be corroborated, or it can be corrected. For example, the Book of Kings [*i.e.*, 2 Kings 3:5]<sup>14</sup> appears to give a date [849 BCE] for the rebellion of Mesha which is incompatible with the account of the event recorded for us, on the Moabite stone, by Mesha himself [40 years after the beginning of the reign of Omri's son; *i.e.*, c. 830 BCE]. But even here, if we knew everything, we might be able to see that the two histories are not so irreconcilable after all. For all we know, there may have been two rebellions; there may even have been two Meshas.<sup>15</sup>

MacAlister continues:

What we gain from, excavation is illustration, rather than confirmation. Above all, we obtain a background, filling in the outlines drawn by the historian. We learn how to look at the events which the historian describes for us. We learn — and it is a very necessary lesson — not to think of Bethany [a prominent place name in the New Testament: e.g., Mark 11:11; John 11:18; and in the Babylonian Talmud, Bava Mesia 88a]<sup>16</sup> and its village life as though Bethany were a village in England; we learn not to picture Solomon's Temple as though it were a building of the impressive immensity of a French Cathedral.<sup>17</sup>

I would choose another type of illustration. We are exhorted in Deuteronomy 25:14-15:

You shall not have in your pouch alternate weights, larger and smaller. You shall not have in your house two kinds of *ephah*, a larger and a smaller. You must have completely honest weights and completely honest measures, if you are to endure long on the soil that the LORD your God is giving you.<sup>18</sup>

Or again in Leviticus 19:36:

You shall have an honest balance, honest weights, an honest *ephah*, and an honest *hin*.

Unfortunately, most editions of the Bible supply the reader with no clue for understanding what is an *ephah* or a *hin*. Now archaeological research — properly utilized in biblical interpretation — has yielded very important data, which can be found in the various modern biblical encyclopedias such as the *Anchor Bible Dictionary* in 6 volumes and the recent one-volume *Eerdmans Bible Dictionary*, to name but a few.

The *ephah* was a dry measure equal to 10 to 20 liters.<sup>19</sup> Why the discrepancy? There was no Bureau of Weights as they have, for example in the

<sup>14</sup> All bracketed remarks supplied by Mayer I. Gruber

<sup>15</sup> MacAlister 1925, pp. 266-267; for the inscription see Gibson 1971, pp. 71-83.

<sup>16</sup> See above, n. 14.

<sup>17</sup> MacAlister, 1925, p. 267.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *The Tanakh: A New Translation of the Holy Scriptures* 1986.

<sup>19</sup> Powell 1992, p. 903.

U.S.A. Likewise, the metric system, invented in France during the French Revolution, had yet to be devised. Since the definition of an *ephah* varied from time to time and place to place, some persons felt it perfectly reasonable and perfectly legal to use one measuring cup for buying and another for selling, all to their personal advantage. Came the Torah and closed this legal loophole. The material reality behind Leviticus 19:36 and Deuteronomy 25:14-15 was, of course, provided by archaeological research, which brought to light jars of varying capacities, all labeled *ephah*. Similarly, some ancient jars indicate that a *hin* may have been a measure of capacity equivalent to 4 to 12 liters.<sup>20</sup>

The Jewish Bible, commonly called the Old Testament, is an anthology of 24 [in the Jewish reckoning, which treats the Minor Prophets as a single book] or 39 (in the English Bible) little books, whose major common concern — Song of Songs and Esther appear to be exceptions — is a deity often referred to by a four letter name, which scholars call the Tetragrammaton. Some of the major issues referred to in these books are 1) good behavior expressed in rules as in Leviticus, Deuteronomy and Proverbs; 2) good behavior expressed in prophetic harangue and promise of reward in Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and the Twelve (Minor) Prophets; 3) the saga of the good and bad kings of Israel and Judah recounted in Samuel and Kings; 4) the attempt to justify the suffering of an apparently totally virtuous individual in the Book of Job; 5) prayers, laments and hymns of praise addressed to that aforementioned deity in the Book of Psalms. Unfortunately, in very recent times this fascinating anthology of ancient religious literature was turned into a history book. Moreover, Hebrew Scripture misread as a history book, had to be either a true history book or a false history book. Typical of this phenomenon was the advertisement for the Thirteenth World Congress of Jewish Studies August 12-17, 2001, which was published in the popular Israeli Hebrew daily newspaper *Ma'ariv* on Friday May 25, 2001. In that advertisement readers are told that one of the issues to be debated at that scholarly meeting is “Hebrew Scripture: Historical Reality or Literary Invention?” How did this misreading of Scripture come about?

### Bible bashing

Poking fun at the Jewish Bible is often traced to the 17<sup>th</sup> century Benedict Spinoza, often called “the Father of Biblical Criticism.”<sup>21</sup> In fact,

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 904.

<sup>21</sup> Spinoza 1670, pp. 49-299.

R. David Freedman demonstrated in a brilliant study published in 1989 that Spinoza had copied 14 of his 20 arguments against the truth of Hebrew Scripture from the Spanish Muslim Ibn Hazm, who lived from 994-1064.<sup>22</sup> Another classic of Bible bashing is, of course, *Age of Reason*, published by that famous American patriot Thomas Paine in 1794. He writes as follows:

Now the man Moses was very meek.... (Numbers 12, 3).

If Moses said this of himself, instead of being the meekest of men, he was one of the most vain and arrogant of coxcombs; and the advocates for those books may now take which side they please, for both sides are against them; if Moses was not the author, the books are without authority; and if he was the author, the author is without credit, because to boast of *meekness* is the reverse of meekness, and is *a lie in sentiment*.<sup>23</sup>

### Wellhausen's Theological Program

Unlike Spinoza and unlike Paine, Wellhausen was not a Bible basher. Wellhausen believed that the essence of Judaism and of Christianity was in the ethical monotheism preached by Amos, Isaiah and Micah in the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Wellhausen was plagued by two basic questions, without which one cannot understand modern biblical studies. The first question is 1) why Christianity and the New Testament if the Old Testament — and the Pentateuch in particular — was given by God? 2) since Jesus states in Matthew 5:17, “Think not that I have come to abolish the Torah and the prophets; I have come not to abolish them but to fulfill them,” how is it that Christianity and the New Testament made light of the Sabbath (Matthew 12) and circumcision (Galatians 5); abolished most of the dietary laws (Acts 10:9-16; contrast Leviticus 11; Deuteronomy 14); and how is it that Christianity does not observe the Jewish festivals?

The answer provided by Julius Wellhausen and modern biblical scholarship is that while circumcision was indeed practiced in ancient Israel, it was not part of the Torah given to Moses, which Jesus promised not to abrogate. The story in Genesis 17 of Abraham's being circumcised at age 99 is, according to Wellhausen, part of the priestly code, which is not of Mosaic date or origin but a post-exilic human creation.<sup>24</sup> It is not part of the legacy of ancient Israel, which came to an end with the destruction of Solomon's Temple in 586 BCE but of Judaism, the creation of Jewish priests during and after the Babylonian Exile. The same applies, of course, to Genesis 2:1-

<sup>22</sup> Freedman 1989, pp. 32-33.

<sup>23</sup> Paine 1794, p. 52.

<sup>24</sup> Wellhausen 1883, pp. 338-339; cf. Lemche 1988, p. 185.



3, which declares that the Sabbath is part of the order of creation.<sup>25</sup> The same applies to the purity regulations contained in Leviticus 11-16.<sup>26</sup> The same, of course, applies to the lists of Jewish festivals in Leviticus 23 and Numbers 28-29.<sup>27</sup>

Wellhausen explains in the introduction to his brilliant and fascinating book, *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel*, that the nation of Israel ceased to exist with the destruction of the Temple and the Exile of the Jews to Babylonia in 586. What follows thereafter is Judaism, a religion, based upon a book, which was created by Jewish priests after 586 BCE.<sup>28</sup> This thesis explains why it is that the rules contained in that book, the Torah, such as circumcision, Sabbath, abstention from pork and observance of the New Year with the blowing of the ram's horn are not part of Christianity. These rules were made up; the Torah was made up by Judaism.

To this day books and articles written in the tradition of modern biblical criticism employ the terms "exilic," "post-exilic," and "close to the exile" as code words for "unauthoritative" and assume that the Israelite religion of the Iron Age is what Jesus had in mind in Matthew 5:17 when he said that he had come to fulfill rather than to abolish the Law, *i.e.*, the Torah.

### Wellhausen's Legacy to Modern Israel

Significantly, the civil religion of the so-called secular majority in the modern State of Israel also adopted Wellhausen's view that the authentic basis for the life of the new Israel was the Israelite heritage of the pre-exilic, *i.e.*, the pre-586 BCE era. For Wellhausen as for ancient and medieval Christianity the new Israel meant Christianity; for the civil religion of the modern State of Israel the new Israel meant the state proclaimed by David Ben-Gurion on May 14, 1948. It is well known that Christianity looked upon Second Temple Judaism as an abyss, which separated the religion of

<sup>25</sup> Wellhausen 1883, pp. 112-116.

<sup>26</sup> Wellhausen 1883, pp[. 131, 339, 422, 424, 510 and *passim*.

<sup>27</sup> Wellhausen 1883, pp. 99-112; cf. Lemche 1988, pp. 217-299.

<sup>28</sup> Wellhausen 1883, p. 410: "What distinguishes Judaism from ancient Israel is *the written* Torah; cf. the critique of Wellhausen's treatment of the post-586 BCE history of the Levant as an abyss in Thompson 1999, p. 377: "The six centuries between Nebuchadnezzar and Jesus belonged to hidden history. This was to be expected within the anti-Semitism of the old paradigm, in which this period — given over to an Israelite deformation into Judaism — was understood as a dark age." However, Thompson 1999, p. xv insists that "the Bible's Israel is a literary fiction." In fact, Thompson 1999, pp. 184-190 widens the abyss that separates the historical Israel from Judaism when he claims that the demise of historical Israel took place in 722 BCE while the application of the name Israel to Iron Age Judah was an invention of the Hasmonean kings (164-37 BCE).

ancient Israel from the New Covenant inaugurated by Jesus of Nazareth. Likewise, the civil religion of Modern Israel looks upon both Second Temple Judaism and the Rabbinic heritage of the Roman and Byzantine eras — Mishnah, Tosefta, the Talmuds, the vast midrashic literature, and the Jewish liturgy — which had formed the basis of Jewish culture and Jewish higher education for some twelve and a half centuries as an abyss, which separated ancient Israel of the pre-586 BCE era from the Modern Israel of the sabra. Like Christianity and like modern biblical criticism, the civil religion of the secular majority in the modern State of Israel accepted the dogma that anything that was exilic or post-exilic was hardly worth studying unless one had the misfortune to belong to that antiquated branch of the Jewish people, which is called “religious” or “Orthodox”. Yehezkel Kaufmann in his monumental 8 volume *History of the Israelite Religion* provided scholarly underpinning for the view that, contrary to Wellhausen and virtually all European biblical scholarship, virtually all of Hebrew Scripture was composed in the Iron Age, even Jonah, Ruth, Proverbs, Job and the last six chapters of Zechariah.<sup>29</sup> It was Kaufmann’s version of biblical criticism, Wellhausen’s thesis turned on its head, that became the canonical reading of the history of ancient Israel in Israeli public schools, high schools, and, eventually, the university as well. And it is this view that was adopted and taught at a number of Jewish institutions elsewhere in the world as well.

### Albright debunked

Kaufmann’s reading of the history of Israelite religion seemed for several generations to dovetail with and find corroboration in the findings of the Albright school of archaeology. Thus it happened that Israeli archaeology and biblical history forgot the warning of MacAlister and adopted Albright’s idea of looking in search of corroboration as well as illustration. In the field of biblical studies two landmark books appeared in the 1970’s. These were Thomas L. Thompson, *The Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives: The Quest for the Historical Abraham*<sup>30</sup> and John van Seters, *Abraham in History and Tradition*.<sup>31</sup> Thompson argued that the stories of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob were written in the Iron Age and reflected realities of the Iron Age rather than realities of the Middle Bronze Age as had been assumed by Albright, Speiser, Sarna and others. Van Seters argued that the

<sup>29</sup> Kaufmann 1964; Kaufmann 1961.

<sup>30</sup> Thompson 1974.

<sup>31</sup> Van Seters 1975.

patriarchal narratives were all composed in the post-exilic period (*i.e.*, in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE) and reflected realities of that time.

### The new skepticism

Now come the skeptics of the 1990's. Thompson had successfully debunked Albright and the Middle Bronze Age setting of the patriarchs. So now he tried in his latest *The Mythic Past: Biblical Archaeology and the Myth of Israel* (London: Random House Basic Books, 1999) to argue that the narratives of the biblical books of First and Second Kings concerning the Davidic dynasty were, in fact, a reading back into a remote past of events pertaining to the Hasmonean kings who ruled over Judah 164-37 BCE.<sup>32</sup> Similarly arguments have been advanced by Lemche<sup>33</sup> and by Whitelam.<sup>34</sup>

Now what is the point of all of this? The point is very simple, and it has very little to do with philology and archaeology.

We saw that Wellhausen in his time justified Christianity's eschewing the religious observances prescribed in the Pentateuch by his contention that an abyss separated the greater part of the Pentateuch, the so-called Priestly Code composed in the exilic and post-exilic periods (*i.e.*, after 586 BCE), from the Iron Age, whose end was the end of Ancient Israel. Thompson, on the other hand, by contending 1) that most of Hebrew Scripture was composed during the Hasmonean Era; and 2) that ancient Israel came to an end not with the fall of Jerusalem in 586 BCE but in 722 BCE with the fall of Samaria has accomplished a theological revolution of Copernican proportions. In one fell swoop he has created 1) an even greater abyss separating ancient Israel from a) the lion's share of Hebrew Scripture including the books of the Later Prophets who purport to be speaking in the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE and later; b) Second Temple Judaism; c) Rabbinic Judaism; and d) Modern Israel; and 2) he has narrowed the chasm which previously sepa-

<sup>32</sup> Thompson 1999, pp. 207-208.

<sup>33</sup> Lemche 1998.

<sup>34</sup> Whitelam 1996, p. 221; Whitelam 1996, p. 222, however, blames not Hebrew Scripture but modern European, American and Israeli "biblical scholarship," which "assumed that there is no difference between 'ancient Israel' and the population of Iron Age central Palestine"; Whitelam 1996, p. 241, n. 11: "His [Martin Noth's] observation that there are undoubted historical connections between the new [modern state] and old Israel is particularly problematic. It is even questionable that there is a direct connection between the entity called Israel in the Merneptah stele at the end of the Late Bronze Age and the monarchic state or later entities in the second Temple period (Whitelam 1994). The widespread belief in a direct continuum between the past of ancient Israel and the modern state is an important rhetorical device which has played a crucial role in silencing Palestinian history." Among the culprits cited by Whitelam are Wellhausen (p. 21) and Mendenhall (p. 104).

rated Hebrew Scripture chronologically from Christianity and made credible the Jewish side of the argument with Christianity as to which of the two faiths is *Verus Israel*.<sup>35</sup>

Modern Israel bought into Wellhausen's thesis that whatever Israel really was in the Iron Age is supposed to be normative forever; whatever had been added on in the post-exilic age is tendentious and ephemeral. The idea, still adhered to by many people belonging to the so-called secular majority in the modern State of Israel is that the culture and religion of the new independent state must be established upon the bedrock of its Iron Age past and not upon the ephemeral additions and misinterpretations created by Jewish priests in the post-exilic era. And so the emphasis in Israeli culture on those narrative books of the Bible which seem to talk about events of the Bronze Age and the Iron Age.

And so you had the obsession with proving that there was an Exodus from Egypt; with finding in documents of the ancient Near East, beyond the strange story line of Genesis itself, rational basis for the strange behavior of Abraham and Isaac, who introduce their wives to the kings of Egypt/Gerar with the words "Here is my sister". Well, of course, it turned out that archaeologists did not find evidence of either the Exodus or the patriarchs. Forgotten in the heat of the current debate is a bit of Rabbinic wisdom: "I have not seen is no proof."<sup>36</sup> Prof. Anson Rainey informs me that archaeologists have not yet found the stratum at Byblos, which corresponds to the *Sitz im Leben* of the corpus of seventy-one Rib-Hadda letters composed in the 14<sup>th</sup> century BCE and found among the Amarna archives discovered in Egypt in 1887 CE.<sup>37</sup> Among the bones in the throat of the skeptics are 1) the Merneptah stele, which locates Israel in the land of Israel as early as the 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE;<sup>38</sup> 2) the 8<sup>th</sup> century inscription from Tel Dan, which refers to *byt dwd*, i.e., the dynasty of David;<sup>39</sup> and the Hezekiah tunnel inscription,

<sup>35</sup> See Thompson 1999, pp. 201-210; 252-254; concerning the absurdity of Thompson's assumption (p. 253) that the composition of biblical books cannot be dated earlier than the earliest surviving copies see Talshir 1999, especially, pp. 243-244; concerning the clear differences between Hebrew of the Iron Age reflected in most of the books of Hebrew Scripture and Hellenistic Hebrew reflected in non-biblical texts recovered from Qumran see Hurvitz 2000. Using Thompson's reasoning we would have had to date Hebrew Scripture to the Middle Ages were it not for the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in the 40's and 50's of the twentieth century CE. Thompson's dating most of Hebrew Scripture to the Hasmonean Era (albeit not the Pentateuch with its Exodus traditions, which, *mirabile dictu*, Thompson 1999, p. 215 [see below, n. 66] traces to pre-exilic Samaria!) derives from Lemche 1993, which, in turn, inspires the highly provocative discussion published in Grabbe 2001.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Neusner 2001.

<sup>37</sup> See Moran 1992.

<sup>38</sup> Whitelam 1996, p. 228; p. 241, n. 11; Whitelam 2000; Thompson 1999, p. 79.

<sup>39</sup> Biran and Naveh 1993; Biran and Naveh 1995.

commonly dated to the reign of King Hezekiah of Judah (715-697 BCE).<sup>40</sup> Whitelam tells us that Merneptah was referring to a different Israel with no connection to the Israel mentioned in the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament, whose continuation is the Jewish people and its religion both in the State of Israel and elsewhere.<sup>41</sup> The skeptics tell us that either the Tell Dan inscription is a forgery<sup>42</sup> or that the expression *byt dwd* detected therein certainly does not mean 'House of David' and cannot possibly refer to either the Davidic dynasty or the Judahite state ruled by that dynasty.<sup>43</sup> Last but not least, they tell us that the Hezekiah tunnel inscription is a Hasmonean forgery.<sup>44</sup>

So what is to be done insofar as the archaeologists have not yet found a stele set up by Abraham in the Middle Bronze Age and in view of the fact that they did not yet find a seal or inscription of King David himself? Does this mean, as my late and revered teacher Theodor H. Gaster used to say, when he warned against the popular misconception that archaeology had somehow proved the Bible to be true, that all of the Bible and all of Judaism are, as it were, a bum show? Of course not. Part of the answer of what is to be done is found already in Hebrew Scripture itself.

Back in 1977 Sarah Japhet, now head of the National Library in Jerusalem, published a fascinating study of the unique ideology of the biblical Book of Chronicles. She pointed out in her book that the biblical Book of Chronicles goes to great lengths to eliminate from its retelling of the history of Israel based upon the Pentateuch and the Early Prophets all references to the Exodus from Egypt.<sup>45</sup> The author of this book composed in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE or later prefers for whatever reason — perhaps he shared with Prof. Herzog<sup>46</sup> and Prof. Israel Finkelstein<sup>47</sup> the idea that with all due respect to Amos and Hosea of the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE there was no Exodus —

<sup>40</sup> See Gibson 1971, pp. 21-23.

<sup>41</sup> Whitelam 1996, p. 241, n. 11; Whitelam 2000; so also Thompson 1999, p. 34; Thompson 1999, p. 190 declares, "The only historical Israel to speak of is the people of the small highland state, which, having lost its political autonomy in the last quarter of the eighth century [i.e., 722 BCE], has been consistently ignored by historians and Bible scholars alike." Moreover, Thompson 1999, p. 190 argues, "No political, ethnic or historical bond existed between the state that was called Israel or 'the house of Omri' and the town of Jerusalem and Judah. In history, neither Jerusalem nor Judah ever shared an identity with Israel before the rule of the Hasmoneans in the Hellenistic period."

<sup>42</sup> Davies 1994; contrast Talshir 1999, p. 240 and the extensive literature cited there.

<sup>43</sup> Cryer 1995; Davies 1994.

<sup>44</sup> Rogerson and Davies 1996; contrast the extensive scholarly literature cited by Talshir 1999, p. 240, n. 21.

<sup>45</sup> Japhet 1977.

<sup>46</sup> Herzog 1999.

<sup>47</sup> Finkelstein and Silberman 2000; cf. Thompson 1999, p. 39.

the Israelites are not an African people who conquered Palestine from the Canaanites — but natives of Palestine.

The idea suggested by the biblical Book of Chronicles and revived in recent times, usually without giving any credit to Chronicles, that Amos and Hosea and, for that matter the Pentateuch, were mistaken and that the people of Israel originated in the Land of Israel rather than elsewhere may be compared to the now dominant views that 1) the Etruscans were indigenous to Italy; and 2) Greek civilization was autochthonous. Interestingly, Jodi Magness, who presents serious evidence for the eastern Mediterranean origin of the Etruscans suggested already by Herodotus (I. 94), points out, “the isolationist...paradigm...seems to be related to a reaction against colonialism.”<sup>48</sup>

Just as the biblical Book of Chronicles’ revisionism denies the Israelites’ having come from Egypt so does Whitelam insist that 1) the modern Palestinian nationality is a direct continuation of the peoples who lived in Palestine from the Late Bronze Age to the Roman period;<sup>49</sup> 2) “the widespread belief in a direct continuum between the past of ancient Israel and the modern state [of Israel] is an important rhetorical device, which has played a crucial role in silencing Palestinian history”;<sup>50</sup> and 3) “Western biblical scholarship has become unsure of its role and function as the West has progressively lost its colonial role compared with Israeli scholarship, which is still involved in the colonial experience.”<sup>51</sup>

What Whitelam fails to contend with is that the State of Israel, like many other contemporary political entities, such as Australia, New Zealand and Singapore, can and should be defined as a *postcolonial* state vis-a-vis European civilization. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that just as European Christendom saw the Jews as intruders of Oriental origin so were the Jews also a colonial people vis-a-vis the Islamic world, in which at least half of the Jews of Modern Israel have their roots. The bitter reality is that the Israeli state is perceived by many, and the reasons are well known, as a European colonial power and that the postcolonial context of Israeli biblical studies and Israeli archaeology is rarely appreciated.

The people whom I call the skeptics, who have been called “nihilists, minimalists and destructionists,” are perceived as<sup>52</sup> and would like to be perceived as somehow connected with New Age thinking, deconstruction,

<sup>48</sup> Magness 2001, p. 26.

<sup>49</sup> Whitelam 1996, p. 8 and *passim*.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 241, n. 11.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 243, n. 19.

<sup>52</sup> Talshir 1999.

post-Modernism and Asian-African, Polynesian and Australian aboriginal notions of time in which the distinction between past, present and future do not exist.<sup>53</sup> However, Whitelam reveals again and again that his approach is, in fact, a characteristically 19<sup>th</sup> century historicism, which attempts to sever the major link between ancient and modern Israel, which is Hebrew Scripture, by declaring that the memory of things past contained in that corpus “is a fiction.”<sup>54</sup>

I was asked, how could Jews celebrate Passover, if, archaeologists tell us that they found no evidence concerning the Exodus? I pointed out that the single most elaborate description of a Passover celebration found in Hebrew Scripture is the one located in 2 Chronicles 30. It appears to emanate from the pen of that very biblical author whom we call “the Chronicler,” who wants to know nothing of the Exodus. In 2 Samuel 7:6 God asks Nathan the prophet to tell King David not to build the Temple because “I never was enthroned in a Temple from the time I brought Israel up from Egypt.” In the 1 Chronicles 17:5 revised version of God’s words to Nathan we have “from the time I brought Israel up”; the reference to Egypt has been eliminated. Perhaps the author of Chronicles has better historical data at her disposal than the author of Second Samuel. Or, perhaps, that pluralistic anthology, which we call Hebrew Scripture — by including parallel versions of Israel’s past — in Hexateuch, Judges, Samuel and Kings, on the one hand and Chronicles on the other hand — with and without the Exodus and Conquest — adumbrates the ambiguity of an ancient postcolonial people, which like the Jews of Modern Israel, and, like the Australians of European origin as portrayed by Roland Boer,<sup>55</sup> is trying to find an identity for itself somewhere between the antipodes of an invading people and a people at home in its native land.

### Iron Age Israel and Judah in Datable Extra-biblical Sources

What do we know? We know from numerous references in the annals of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings and pictorial illustrations from the palaces of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings of the existence of the states of Israel and Judah in the 9<sup>th</sup> century BCE until the conquest of Samaria by

<sup>53</sup> Whitelam 1996, pp. 28-30.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>55</sup> Boer 2001; see especially pp. 120-149; no less important is Boer’s instructive discussion of the role of the Bible in inspiring non-European peoples in their struggle against European colonizers, who brought the Bible with them.

Sargon II in 722 BCE.<sup>56</sup> Thereafter we know from Akkadian documents of the appearance of Israelite exiles from Samaria all over the Assyrian Empire.<sup>57</sup> Similarly, we have abundant evidence from the annals of the Chaldean kings who ruled Babylonia from 625-539 BCE of the last days of Judah and the conquest and exile of its inhabitants.<sup>58</sup> Prof. David Vanderhoof of Boston College has written a fascinating study concerning the documentary evidence of the roles played by the Jewish exiles and their descendants all over the Persian Empire in the Achaemenid Period, i.e., 539-333, as hinted at in the biblical books of Esther and Nehemiah.<sup>59</sup> Consequently, the innuendo, which is conveyed by the skeptics, namely, that the Hebrew Scripture is a lie, an invention of the Hasmoneans, ignores and makes light of the wealth of fascinating data that has, in fact, been discovered since the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century CE.

As for the question as to whether or not there was an Exodus and what this may imply, we ought not to forget the Prophet Jeremiah's contribution to the discussion. This contribution seems to have been lost in the heat of the current debate. Jeremiah says in Jeremiah 23:7:

Assuredly a time is coming — declares the LORD — when it shall no longer be said, I swear by the LORD who brought the Israelites out of the land of Egypt but rather I swear by the LORD who brought out and led the offspring of the House of Israel from the northland and from the lands to which I banished them. And they shall dwell upon their own soil.

This prophecy has — of course — been fulfilled, in a manner of speaking, by the modern state of Israel, whose ingathering of Exiles is so well described by the 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE Zephaniah (Zeph. 3:10): "From beyond the rivers of Ethiopia, my suppliants shall bring offerings to me in Fair Puzai." Puzai, it appears, is an epithet of Jerusalem.

### Postcolonial Perspective

When Israel was in 1948 still a colonial people in search of a usable past for the basis of its present, it bought into Wellhausen's thesis, concerning

<sup>56</sup> For a small selection of these texts in English translation see Pritchard 1969, pp. 271-316; 563-564 for translation of documents in Iron Age Hebrew from Iron Age Israel and Judah see there pp. 320-322; 568-569.

<sup>57</sup> Oded 1979; Younger 1999.

<sup>58</sup> Wiseman 1961; see, e.g., p. 72 concerning the capture of the king of Judah [*i.e.*, Jehoiachin] and the appointment in his stead of a king of Nebuchadrezzar's choice [*i.e.*, Zedekiah] on 2 Adar 597 BCE.

<sup>59</sup> Vanderhoof 1999.



the centrality of the Iron Age. It seemed to follow from this thesis that corroboration of what the Bible ascribes to the Iron Age and before would be corroboration of the reality of the ancient Israel, which the modern nation sought to revive. The study of the rich literary legacy of Second Temple and post Second Temple literature created in the Land of Israel — Mishnah, Tosefta, the Jerusalem Talmud, the vast midrashic literature — was systematically neglected except by the Orthodox minority.

So what do you have left when the archaeologists tell you that they did not yet find Abraham or Moses or David? I suggest that archaeologists would better have served both the public and their profession by telling us in plain language what they do find and how they work. Now what archaeological and historical research are all about is the rediscovery of the past, which may give us a better understanding of where we have been, of the ancient texts such as Lev. 19 and Deut. 25 that people still read, and of ideas and things that might help us out today or tomorrow. It is not about going out to prove this or that other idea we read or heard somewhere. That is what they did in totalitarian regimes: as in Stalinist Russia where scientists were asked to prove again and again that if you cut off an animal's tail the offspring would be born without tails because the dictator liked that theory! God forbid, that archaeological research or biblical research in Israel or anywhere else should be made subservient to any particular ideology.

What we do know is that the Jewish people do have ancient roots in the land of Israel, and they have proved their ability to maintain a modern state in the land of Israel despite all kinds of obstacles. We need to understand something else, which I learned from working in feminist biblical criticism.

### A feminist perspective

Some years ago a couple named Peter and Pamela Freyd invented something called “false memory syndrome,” and they established the false memory foundation. They did so in response to the publication by their daughter Jeniffer of a book called *Betrayal Trauma*<sup>60</sup> in which Jennifer J. Freyd claimed that she had been sexually abused by her father. The concept of “false memory syndrome” was concocted to delegitimize Jennifer Freyd. Similar to Jennifer Freyd's account of her having been sexually abused by her father is that of Linda Katherine Cutting in her book *Memory Slips*.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Freyd 1996.

<sup>61</sup> Cutting 1997.

The Jewish people today is being assaulted on two fronts. They are being told that both the holocaust and the pre-Maccabean history of Israel are simply the product of false memory. Moreover, it is being insinuated that both of these false memories have been cynically utilized to rob the Arabs of the land of Israel and Jerusalem. The holocaust, we should remember, fully demonstrated the colonial position of the Jewish people vis-a-vis the world at large, a position, which for the first time since the end of the Hasmonean hegemony in the Land of Israel, was reversed by the establishment of a Jewish state within a portion of the historic Land of Israel. The establishment of that state transformed the status of the Jews from that of a colonial people to that of a postcolonial people. The comparison of holocaust denial to the combination of a) treating Hebrew Scripture and its memory of things past as Hellenistic fantasy; and b) making light of epigraphic testimony to ancient Israel and Judah is fully justified by the following lines I found in Roland Boer, *Last Stop Before Antarctica: The Bible and Postcolonialism in Australia*:

...in the same way that the Holocaust ('burnt offering') of World War II acts as an ideological justification for the establishment of Israel and oppression of the Palestinians, so also the Exodus functions as the ideological justification for the occupation of Canaan and the expulsion of the Canaanites, Perizzites, Gibeonites, Jebusites and so on. Indeed, the tide seems to be turning against the Exodus.<sup>62</sup>

Further on, Boer declares:

...the Exodus, which inseparably links the wandering in the wilderness with the invasion of the land, is a huge mistake and is best discarded<sup>63</sup>

However, discarding the Exodus requires Boer to accept without question Philip Davies' assertion that, in fact, "the Exodus stories seem not to have had currency at least until the Exile to Babylon in 587 BCE (some 600-700 years after their purported happening)."<sup>64</sup>

This strategy requires Boer 1) to reaffirm also the Wellhausen thesis according to which anything the Jews wrote after 586/7 BCE does not count; and 2) to adopt uncritically the thesis that the writings of Amos and Hosea, which speak out of the realities of the 8th century BCE and Jeremiah, which speaks out of the realities of in the period 626-585 BCE are, in fact, post-exilic pseudographs. Moreover, this strategy necessitates the assumption that the Samaritans, who regard themselves as the continuation of the

<sup>62</sup> Boer 2001, p. 91;

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 101;

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 101; see Davies 1992.

northern Kingdom of Israel, and who are so regarded, for example, by Thompson<sup>65</sup> and who accept the Pentateuch, in which, admittedly, the Exodus theme looms large, as their Torah, received their Torah from the Jews of the post-exilic era. Interestingly, Thompson asserts the opposite: “Jerusalem accepted Samaria’s Pentateuch.”<sup>66</sup> Of course, if that is the case, then the Exodus cannot have been invented by the Jews in the Babylonian Exile. Interestingly, Thompson denies the historicity of the Babylonian Exile.<sup>67</sup>

The upshot of Boer’s pairing of the holocaust and the Exodus is that the Jewish people collectively is portrayed as an hysterical woman, who invented a history, concerning both the Iron Age and the early twentieth century CE in order to ruin the lives of other innocent people and dispossess others of their land. What is the proper response?

### A return to reason

- 1) to recognize that Hebrew Scripture is essentially a set of religious documents and not a history of ancient Israel.
- 2) to pursue historical and archaeological research with a view to letting truth liberate all women and men.
- 3) do our homework so that the pseudo-historians whether of ancient Israel or of 20<sup>th</sup> century Europe do not win the minds of the masses and reduce the Jewish people and their many friends in the world to the status of Jennifer Freyd and Katherine Cutting — who are first abused — and then blamed for having created that very abuse in their own nasty little imaginations.

I imagine that I may be accused of being totally unfair in bringing to bear upon what I call the ancient Israel controversy the issue of false memory applied to women, who had testified concerning their being sexually abused as children. I imagine that someone might say that by comparing Thompson’s treatment of the biblical account of the Davidic dynasty as a fantasy of the Hasmonean era to the accusation of false memory leveled at Jennifer Freyd and Linda Katherine Cutting, I am comparing apples and

<sup>65</sup> Thompson 1999, p. 184.

<sup>66</sup> Thompson 1999, p. 215; contrast Wellhausen 1883, p. 498, according to whom it was the Samaritans, who accepted the Pentateuch from post-exilic Jerusalem. There is no other way that Wellhausen could account for the Samaritans’ scrupulous observance of those, from Wellhausen’s perspective, quintessentially Jewish and post-exilic practices such as circumcision, Sabbath and laws of purity.

<sup>67</sup> Thompson 1999, pp. 210–225.

oranges. I believe, therefore, that it would be most useful to consider the words of Sigmund Freud, who anticipated and tragically sanctioned the doctrine of false memory in these words back in 1925:

My confidence was strengthened by a few cases in which [incestuous] relations of this kind with a father, uncle or elder brother had continued up to an age at which memory was to be trusted. If the reader feels inclined to shake his head at my credulity, I cannot altogether blame him; though I may plead that this was at a time when I was intentionally keeping my critical faculty in abeyance so as to preserve an unprejudiced and receptive attitude towards the many novelties which were coming to my notice every day. When, however, I was at last obliged to recognize that these scenes of seduction had never taken place, and that they were only fantasies, which my patients had made up or which I myself had perhaps forced on them, I was for some time completely at a loss....

It will be seen, then, that my mistake was of the same kind as would be made by someone who believed that the legendary story of the early kings of Rome (as told by Livy) was historical truth instead of what it is in fact — a reaction against the memory of times and circumstances that were insignificant and occasionally, perhaps, inglorious.<sup>68</sup>

Suzanne Lego echoes Freud when she argues that irrespective of the tendency of accused perpetrators to take refuge in “false memory syndrome” and the tendency of “repressed memory” to be marginalized as a feminist issue, there is empirical evidence for the operation of both processes.<sup>69</sup> In fact, one of the principle axioms of the academic discipline of history from Herodotus, Thucydides, and Josephus to the present day is the recognition that ancient records, both oral and written, testify both to what we would call repressed memory and to what we would call false memory. The task of the historian, as demonstrated already in the work of the aforementioned parents of the discipline of history, is to reconstruct what happened by learning, *inter alia*, to distinguish between false memory and repressed memory. Professors of history are often asked why they bother to revise their lectures and why they continue to engage in research into the past. “History, after all,” they are often asked, “does not change; does it?” The answer, of course, is that history does change because data is forgotten and rediscovered both in the course of archaeological excavation and in the course of the examination of forgotten archives including, for example, the Cairo Geniza and the bindings of old books. Moreover, our understanding of the past and the meaning of the literature it has bequeathed to us, including Holy Scripture, changes as a result of rereading ancient texts in the

<sup>68</sup> Freud 1925.

<sup>69</sup> Lego 1996.

light of new and improved understandings of both dead languages and human behavior. Such rereading is the basis, for example, of feminist criticism of the Bible, in which I engage.

Ultimately truth and the search for truth will prevail. It may take a very long time. Few biblical scholars notice that Wellhausen's *Prolegomena* ends with the words "For the accomplishment of this [the extinction of Judaism] many centuries may be required." Why do not people notice this? Because people do not see what is unpleasant. Forced to see what is unpleasant, many people go into denial and accuse the person or persons who are showing them reality of themselves suffering from paranoia. Whitelam even creates a nexus between Wellhausen and Zionism.<sup>70</sup> It is the task of scholars to get people to look at everything so that we can make informed judgment.

I suggest that one of the prerequisites for reducing the heat and increasing the light in rational discussion of what I call the ancient Israel controversy is a healthy dialogue with postcolonial theory, and especially with postcolonial biblical interpretation. This means 1) ceasing to misuse Scripture as a history book; 2) ceasing to see the post-exilic era in the history of Israel/Judaism as an abyss of no interest to either religion or history; 3) efforts to foster grass-roots understanding leading to popular support for study of history of religions, the history of the ancient Near East, and the archaeology of the ancient Near East with a view to rejoicing in whatever is found regardless of whether it confirms or denies preconceptions of any kind.

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<sup>70</sup> Whitelam 1996, p. 21.

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# Once More the Dual: With Replies to J. Blau and J. Blenkinsopp

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## Abstract

*Twenty years ago I proposed that the numerous cases of the pronouns אַתָּם, הֵם, כִּם-, and הֵם- with feminine dual antecedents, as well as the use of masculine verbs with feminine dual subjects, are evidence of the vestigial use of dual pronouns and verbs in Biblical Hebrew. In addition, I argued that the large concentration of such forms in "P" can be used as evidence for the early date of the Priestly source. Joshua Blau responded with an article arguing that these examples are not evidence for the dual, but rather are part of the larger picture of the drift for the masculine to replace the feminine in Hebrew and in other Semitic languages. More recently, Joseph Blenkinsopp wrote an article challenging my use of these dual forms for dating the Priestly source. The present article responds to both Blau and Blenkinsopp, adding the evidence of computer-aided analysis of Biblical Hebrew and presenting afresh the position that "P" is indeed pre-exilic.*

## I. Response to Joshua Blau

Twenty years ago, I dealt on two occasions with the use of the independent personal pronouns אַתָּם and הֵם and the pronominal suffixes כִּם- and

\* I am most grateful to Francis Andersen for his encouragement and support, and for his suggestion that I publish this article in *ANES*. In addition, I am indebted to A. Dean Forbes, who furnished me with the data necessary to complete this study; to my former graduate student Gregg Serene, who first put me in touch with Andersen and Forbes; and to my friend and colleague Richard A. Shore of the Department of Mathematics of Cornell University for comments on an earlier version of this article.

הֵן- with feminine antecedents,<sup>1</sup> as well as the use of masculine verbs with feminine subjects. I distinguished between two different situations: A) those cases in which the feminine antecedents and subjects are plural, in which case we are dealing with gender neutralization, a feature of colloquial Hebrew (and of colloquial varieties of other Semitic languages as well, most notably Arabic<sup>2</sup>); and B) those cases in which the feminine antecedents and subjects are dual (the two daughters of Lot, the two midwives, Ruth and Orpah, two stones, two chains, two rings, etc. [the latter items within the Tabernacle account]), in which we have evidence for the vestigial usage of dual pronouns and verbs in ancient Hebrew. I treated situation “A” in my doctoral dissertation,<sup>3</sup> and I treated situation “B” in a 1982 article,<sup>4</sup> though both publications referred to the other situation in either an excursus or a footnote.<sup>5</sup>

The latter publication elicited an article by Joshua Blau, entitled “Kelum Nishtamru ‘Iqvotav shel ha-Zugi bi-Tḥum ha-Kinnuyim ve-ha-Po’al be-‘Ivrit ha-Miqra’,”<sup>6</sup> in which the doyen of Hebraists argued, as the title of his article adumbrates, that the forms that I identified as dual forms are not such (my situation “B”), but rather are additional examples of the masculine plural serving in place of the feminine plural (my situation “A”). I obviously was aware of the latter option, and Blau recognized this,<sup>7</sup> though it was clear that I opted for the former option.

In the years since Blau’s article, I have not responded in print, partly out of respect for the man who is master to all who labor in the field of Hebrew language and Semitic in general, and partly because there was no purpose to debate the issue further, since it was clear that we simply had divergent views on the matter. I have, however, discussed the material to be presented below in my graduate seminars and, if memory serves correctly, with Pro-

<sup>1</sup> The independent pronoun occurs as הֵנָּה as well, and the suffixed pronoun can take the form הֵן-, with elision of the *he*. To keep matters simple, however, I will use הֵן and הֵנָּה- to refer to all cases, regardless of which specific form of the pronoun occurs.

<sup>2</sup> See Rendsburg 1991.

<sup>3</sup> Rendsburg 1980a, pp. 37-38, 40-42, 48-50, 52-63, 164-178. The dissertation was thoroughly revised as Rendsburg 1990, with the pertinent information on pp. 35-61.

<sup>4</sup> Rendsburg 1982. I was not the first to recognize such forms, already earlier scholars such as P. C. Couprie, Viktor Christian, Francis Andersen, and E. F. Campbell discussed these dual forms; see my article for bibliographic details.

<sup>5</sup> The dual forms were treated extensively in an excursus in Rendsburg 1980a, pp. 251-271; this then formed the basis for Rendsburg 1982. The colloquial forms were noted in Rendsburg 1982, p. 56, n. 66. However, the latter reference is limited to the use of masculine plural verbs with feminine subjects; I neglected to note the parallel situation of masculine plural pronouns (independent and suffixed) with feminine antecedents.

<sup>6</sup> Blau 1987-88.

<sup>7</sup> Blau 1987-88, p. 167, n. 9.

fessor Blau himself some years ago. There are two reasons for returning to the subject at this point in time. First, computer analysis of the Bible now affords us an additional tool by which to investigate linguistic questions. And secondly, these forms are once more an issue due to a recent article by Joseph Blenkinsopp on the date of the Priestly source. In this section, I will focus on the data forthcoming from computer analysis; below I turn to Blenkinsopp's article (see Section II). But before proceeding further, first I summarize the data presented in my publications and in Blau's article (see the accompanying chart entitled "The Data" for guidance).

We begin with the pronoun forms, with the following data. There are 0 cases of **אתם** with feminine dual antecedents and 1 case of **אתם** with feminine plural antecedent (Ezek 13:20). There are 5 cases of **הם** with feminine dual antecedents (Hos 2:14, Zech 4:10, 5:10, Song 6:5, Ruth 1:22),<sup>8</sup> and 7 cases of **הם** with feminine plural antecedents (Lev 11:26, Numb 3:21, 3:27, Jer 5:10, Song 6:8, Neh 2:13, 3:34).<sup>9</sup> There are 6 cases of **כִּם**- with feminine dual antecedents (Gen 31:19, Ruth 1:8, 1:9, 1:11, 1:13, Zech 11:9),<sup>10</sup> and 12 cases of **כִּם**- with feminine plural antecedents (2 Sam 1:24, Jer 9:19 [2x], Ezek 13:19, 13:20, 13:21, Amos 4:2 [2x], Song 2:7, 3:5, 5:8, 8:4).<sup>11</sup> Not surprisingly, by far the longest lists concern **הם**-. I identified 38 instances, which I do not enumerate here, of **הם**- with feminine dual antecedents,<sup>12</sup> 12 of which occur in the Torah (Gen 18:20, 19:9, Exod 1:21, 28:9, 28:11, 28:14,

<sup>8</sup> I noted the last four examples (Rendsburg 1982, pp. 39-40). The Hosea passage was identified by Blau (Blau 1987-88, p. 166).

<sup>9</sup> I have combined our two lists. I noted 3 examples (Rendsburg 1990, p. 44), while Blau noted 5 examples (Blau 1987-88, p. 166). Song 6:8 was cited by both of us. I should note that much of Blau's article is devoted to listing all the examples that he identified. I had produced similar lists in my dissertation, whose existence was known to Blau (because it is cited in Rendsburg 1982), but which certainly was unavailable to him, especially given the great distance between Jerusalem and the U.S. At the very time that Blau's article appeared in *Leshonenu* for 1987-1988, my *Diglossia in Ancient Hebrew* book, with the same or similar lists, was in its final stage of production, though actual publication was delayed until 1990.

<sup>10</sup> I originally noted 5 occurrences (Rendsburg 1982, p. 42), assuming the antecedent of **אתכם** in Zech 11:9 to be the plural (collective) **צֹאן** "flock" in v. 7 (Rendsburg 1990, p. 45). Upon further consideration, however, I now believe that **אתכם** refers to the *two* flocks enumerated in v. 9, namely, the one that is to die (**מֵוָה**) and the one that is to be destroyed (**כָּהֵר**). Blau simply repeated my statement that there are 5 occurrences; I trust that he would concur that there is a sixth instance now.

<sup>11</sup> I compiled a list of 10 occurrences (Rendsburg 1990, pp. 44-45), though now I would omit Zech 11:9 from that list (see above). Blau identified two additional examples in Ezek 13:19, 13:20. When I checked these verses, I noted that still another instance occurs in v. 21. Note that Blau and I agree, for our present purposes, to count the four cases appearing in the refrain of Song of Songs as four individual occurrences (see Blau 1987-88, p. 166, n. 6).

<sup>12</sup> For the full list, see Rendsburg 1982, pp. 43-47. On p. 47, I also noted that Deut 27:2 "may exhibit" our form, but since the exact number of stones is not indicated (notwithstanding the frequent reference to *two* stones in the Torah, e.g., Exod 34:1, 34:4, Deut 4:13, 5:19, 9:10, 9:11, 10:1, 10:3), I will agree with Blau (Blau 1987-88, p. 166) not to count this instance.

28:26, 28:27, 30:4, 39:7, 39:18, 39:20).<sup>13</sup> I isolated 67 cases of הֵם- with feminine plural antecedents (though 21 of these occur in Ezek 1:6-26 where the antecedent is חיות “beasts”), of which 15 are in the Torah.<sup>14</sup> It is clear, however, that I greatly understated the number of such cases, because Blau was able to produce a list of 30 cases in the Torah (my 15 plus 15 more), at which point he did not feel the need to go further and include the remainder of the Bible.<sup>15</sup> The totals, comparing apples with apples, that is, using the entire Bible for the first three forms under discussion, but only the Torah for the הֵם- occurrences, are as follows: 23 cases where the antecedent is feminine dual and 50 cases where the antecedent is feminine plural.

We turn now to the verb, starting with the suffix conjugation. Here the picture is more complicated, however. In my article on the dual forms, I postulated a vestigial 3rd person common dual form *qatalā*, which also happens to be the vestigial 3rd person feminine plural form (Semitic *qatalā*, retained in Akkadian and Ge'ez, probably in Ugaritic,<sup>16</sup> and apparently in at least some dialects of Aramaic [see the Qeri readings in Dan 5:5, 7:8, 7:20]).<sup>17</sup> Accordingly, when we look at the attestations of קָטְלָה in the Bible, where the subject is not the expected 3rd person feminine singular, we are not dealing with the situation “A” – situation “B” dichotomy. As is well known, in this case, the norm was the merger of the masculine and feminine forms, with the former, paradigmatic קָטְלוּ, driving out the latter, paradigmatic קָטְלָה. In any case, there are 22 germane cases of קָטְלָה in the Bible,<sup>18</sup> 4 of which bear feminine dual subjects (Exod 30:4, Deut 21:7K, 1 Sam 4:15, Ps 68:14),<sup>19</sup> with the remaining 18 examples to be parsed as vestiges of the Semitic 3rd person feminine plural. I have presented these figures here because they are necessary to get the full picture of the dual verb

<sup>13</sup> See below, Section II, for a chart showing the distribution of the 38 occurrences of this form in the Bible.

<sup>14</sup> Rendsburg 1990, pp. 45-48.

<sup>15</sup> Blau 1987-88, p. 166.

<sup>16</sup> See Lipiński 1997, p. 364.

<sup>17</sup> See Rendsburg 1990, p. 65, relying on Gordon 1967, p. 70, n. 3; and Kutscher 1982, p. 40.

<sup>18</sup> See Rendsburg 1982, p. 51, n. 54, and Blau 1987-88, p. 167. I include in this counting IIIy and IIw verbs, even though the resulting forms are הִיהָ, קָמָה, etc., as in Exod 30:4, Jer 51:29, etc. I do not include the following two examples deduced by Blau. In Gen 49:22, I believe בנות צדור is a phrase meaning “fillies” *vel sim*. In Jer 48:41, I would count only one example, since קריית is apparently a proper name, the name of a city in Moab (see Amos 2:2, especially in comparison to the similar lines in Amos 1:4, 1:12, where ארמונת is followed by a proper name).

<sup>19</sup> I included Ps 73:2K (Rendsburg 1982, p. 49) as a fifth example, but Blau (Blau 1987-88, pp. 166-167) prefers not to include this verse. In the end, as we shall see, whether we include this example or not is irrelevant.

forms, but in our overall calculations below, we will omit these examples. The reason for omitting them is simple: we want to be consistent and work within the situation “A” – situation “B” dichotomy; incorporating these קטלה forms into our calculations would preclude that consistency.

For the second person of the suffix conjugation, the picture is simpler, and we return to the situation “A” – situation “B” dichotomy. There are two germane cases of קטלתם (Ezek 23:49, Ruth 1:8), both of which have a feminine dual subject, with no instances of this form with a feminine plural subject.

The picture for the prefix conjugation is as follows, beginning with the 3rd person forms. I previously isolated 22 examples of יקטלו forms with feminine dual subjects,<sup>20</sup> to which Blau added 5 more examples (Ezek 23:42, Ps 10:8, Job 15:12, Neh 6:9, 2 Chr 6:40),<sup>21</sup> for a total of 27. I previously identified 21 examples of יקטלו forms with feminine plural subjects,<sup>22</sup> to which Blau added 20 more examples,<sup>23</sup> for a total of 41. There are no instances of 2nd person תקטלו forms with feminine dual subjects, nor are there any cases of קטלו imperative forms with feminine dual subjects. Combining my list and Blau’s list yields 12 cases of the former with feminine plural subjects (*e.g.*, Joel 2:22),<sup>24</sup> and 7 cases of the latter with feminine plural subjects (*e.g.*, Amos 4:1).<sup>25</sup> On the one hand, one can assume that the expected dual forms existed in ancient Hebrew, though they are unattested,<sup>26</sup> and thus we should count these 19 examples. On the other hand, perhaps we should assume that these second person forms were not part of ancient Hebrew (à la Akkadian, which has only the third person forms), in which case we should not use these 19 examples in our calculations. We present both of these options in our summation of the data for the verb. Option one yields 29 pertinent verb forms with feminine dual subjects and 60 cases with feminine plural subjects. Option two results in the corresponding figures of 29 and 41.

But no matter which set of verb figures we utilize, a general pattern emerges from the data. If we add the data from the pronoun analysis conducted above to the figures just presented for the verb, we arrive at totals of 52 instances of situation “B” versus either 91 or 110 instances of situation “A.” That is to say, there are approximately twice as many cases of the forms

<sup>20</sup> Rendsburg 1982, pp. 54–55.

<sup>21</sup> Blau 1987–88, p. 167.

<sup>22</sup> Rendsburg 1990, pp. 58–60.

<sup>23</sup> Blau 1987–88, p. 167.

<sup>24</sup> Rendsburg 1990, p. 58; and Blau 1987–88, p. 167.

<sup>25</sup> Rendsburg 1990, p. 60; and Blau 1987–88, p. 167.

<sup>26</sup> Rendsburg 1982, p. 56.

under discussion bearing plural antecedents and subjects (situation "A") than those bearing dual antecedents and subjects (situation "B").

The difference between Blau and me concerns only the instances where the antecedent is *two* of something. As noted, we concur that all other cases exemplify the trend for the masculine plural to supplant the feminine plural, that is, situation "A" (though we might differ on the reasons therefore: I have explained such cases as evidence for colloquial Hebrew in antiquity; Blau prefers to see this as part of the general drift in Semitic, even in classical languages<sup>27</sup>). As far as the other cases are concerned, those with a dual antecedent or subject, that is, situation "B," I believe that my position can be defended from the standpoint of statistical analysis.

Now, as far as I know, no computer program will produce the results necessary to answer this question in a precise manner (see further the next paragraph). But I believe that we can arrive at a very close approximation. A. Dean Forbes courteously supplied me with the following information derived from his computer database<sup>28</sup>: the Bible includes 6715 instances of feminine plural common nouns and 1829 instances of feminine dual common nouns, a ratio of 3.67:1, or approximately 4:1. Yet, as we saw above, the former elicit הֵם-, כֵּם-, etc., only about twice as much as the latter. These data demonstrate that, roughly speaking, the dual forms are twice as likely to elicit the forms הֵם-, כֵּם-, etc.<sup>29</sup>

The reason that these data cannot be used outright is forthcoming from the nature of our examples. Some of the instances of situation "B" include actual feminine dual nouns, serving as either antecedents or subjects (*e.g.*, עֵינַיִם "eyes" in Zech 4:10, Ps 10:8, 11:4, Prov 4:25, 23:33, Job 15:12, Song 6:5, 2 Chr 6:40, 7:15; שִׁנַּיִם "teeth" in Song 4:2, 6:6; יָדַיִם "hands" in 2 Sam 4:1, Zeph 3:16, 2 Chr 15:7; etc.). But the majority of our examples of situation "B" are either feminine plural nouns of which there happen to be only *two* (*e.g.*, two stones in Exod 28:9, 28:11, 39:7; two doorposts in Judg 16:3; two

<sup>27</sup> Blau, 1987-88, p. 168. See also Blau's comments concerning my contribution to the Leslau Festschrift (Rendsburg 1991) in his review of said work (Blau 1992-93, p. 178).

<sup>28</sup> This database forms the basis of Andersen and Forbes 1989, but the following information does not appear in the volume. Accordingly, I asked Forbes via e-mail if he could cull the relevant data from his database, and he responded with dispatch.

<sup>29</sup> One could argue, by the way, on the basis of this analysis, that the קָטְלָה forms with feminine dual subjects are therefore not duals. Note that there were 22 germane cases, of which 18 were with feminine plural subjects, and only 4 of which were with feminine dual subjects. The ratio of 4.5:1 for these forms is about the same as the 3.67:1 ratio given above. However, note that the 4 cases of קָטְלָה verbs (Exod 30:4, Deut 21:7K, 1 Sam 4:15, Ps 68:14) are in the oldest sources of Biblical Hebrew: two are in the Torah, one is in Samuel, and one is in the archaic Psalm 68. Presumably, this dual form died out quite early, with no vestiges in later texts. I recognize that Exodus 30 is in "P" considered by many to be a post-exilic source; but see further below, Section II, for the linguistic evidence in favor of early "P."

cows in 1 Sam 6:7, 6:10, 6:12; etc.), or specifically *two* women are involved (Lot's two daughters, Shiphrah and Puah, Ruth and Orpah, Ruth and Naomi, Oholah and Oholibah, etc.). In addition, we have occasional examples such as Gen 18:20, where the antecedent is two individual toponyms, Sodom and Gomorrah, and Prov 6:20-21, where the antecedent is two feminine singular nouns (מַצוֹה and תּוֹרָה) which taken together elicit the 3rd common dual pronominal suffix. Instances such as two stones, two doorposts, two cows, etc., would appear in Forbes's database as feminine plural nouns, even though in these specific cases they elicit dual forms. And instances such as Ruth and Orpah, Ruth and Naomi, Gen 18:20, and Prov 6:20-21, would not be accounted at all in Forbes's statistics.

On the other hand, there is one class of forms which can yield a very accurate statistical analysis. I refer specifically to the use of יקטלו for both situation "A" and situation "B." This form has great potential for our present needs due to the following dichotomy in the use of the dual forms. For the pronoun forms (independent and suffixed), we have very few instances of actual feminine dual nouns serving as the antecedent. Instead, the typical antecedent is two of something (stones, doorposts, cows, etc.) or two individual women (the midwives, etc.).<sup>30</sup> By contrast, if we take the commonest of the verb forms, namely יקטלו, with only one exception, all the examples of situation "B" have actual feminine dual nouns (hands, feet, lips, eyes, etc.) serving as the subject. Of the 27 cases noted above, 26 fall into this category,<sup>31</sup> with only Ezek 23:42 as a counter-example (Oholah and Oholibah serve as the subject).<sup>32</sup> These distinctions may tell us something about the way that the individual dual forms were retained in Biblical Hebrew. But that point aside, this pleasant circumstance allows us to correlate the יקטלו examples with Forbes's data to arrive at a precise analysis. As noted above, there are 41 cases of יקטלו forms in situation "A." Let us omit the sole counter-example of Ezek 23:42,<sup>33</sup> and consider just the 26 cases of יקטלו verbs with actual feminine dual nouns as subject. As stated earlier, the exact ratio forthcoming from Forbes's data is 3.67:1. If there are 26 instances of situation "B" with these verb forms, we therefore would expect 95 instances of situation "A," according to Blau's position. But as we have just

<sup>30</sup> In addition, most of these occur in prose texts, as reflected in part (because only the  $\text{הם}$ -forms are presented) in the chart which appears below in Section II, p. 37.

<sup>31</sup> See the list in Rendsburg 1982, pp. 54-55, along with Ps 10:8, Job 15:12, Neh 6:9, 2 Chr 6:40, adduced by Blau 1987-88, p. 167. I include Isa 51:5 in this counting: the subject is רַעֲיִי "my arms," which is obviously two arms, even though a true dual form of this noun is not attested.

<sup>32</sup> In addition, the great majority of these examples occur in poetry.

<sup>33</sup> Indeed, it is not even clear that Oholah and Oholibah are the subject here, as noted by Blau 1987-88, p. 167. It is an extremely difficult passage.



noted, the Bible attests to only 41 such cases. Accordingly, dual subjects are more than twice as likely to elicit the *יקטלי* than plural subjects.

I consider this particular example quite significant. But even if we were not to give it extra weight in our deliberations, the overall conclusion remains the same. The 4:1 ratio of feminine plural nouns to feminine dual nouns in the Bible gives us a useful approximation for our present purposes, even though it does not provide the ideal ratio necessary for arguing the statistical angle unequivocally. I am not sure that any computer program would provide the necessary information — perhaps only an actual reading and accounting of a significant amount of the biblical corpus, something I admit not to have done, would solve the issue totally — nevertheless I take this opportunity to call on others working in the field of computer-aided analysis of the Bible to aid us in this quest. It is likely, however, that no such analysis is necessary. I trust that anyone who has spent time reading the Bible would agree with the general approach taken here, that there are many more references to feminine plural items than there are references to feminine dual items (an umbrella term including true duals such as body parts, two feminine items such as “two stones,” and two women together), even if we cannot arrive at the raw data beyond what is implied by Forbes’s statistics.

Furthermore, we must keep in mind that we are dealing here with vestigial forms. In Section II we will consider the diachronic question for the one form for which we have the most examples, namely *מה-*. We will see, not surprisingly, that earlier biblical books utilize this dual form more frequently than later biblical books. Accordingly, the statistical survey conducted above, treating the Bible as a synchronic whole, hides a crucial element in the overall picture. If we were to limit the statistical analysis to only the earlier books of the Bible (though admittedly we have done a bit of this using only the Torah for *מה-*), no doubt even stronger evidence would arise in favor of the argument attempted here.

In short, to my mind, notwithstanding some lingering questions, the statistical analysis presented here argues strongly that examples of situation “B” should be considered vestiges of common dual independent pronouns, pronominal suffixes, and verbs. I will continue to use this as my working hypothesis, with all due respect to Professor Blau from whom I and so many others have learned so much.

## II. Response to Professor Blenkinsopp

In a recent article entitled “An Assessment of the Alleged Pre-Exilic Date of the Priestly Material in the Pentateuch,” Joseph Blenkinsopp attempted

to argue against the overwhelming linguistic evidence which points indisputably to a pre-exilic date for the Priestly source ("P").<sup>34</sup> The scholar who has been most active in this arena is Avi Hurvitz; not surprisingly, therefore, Blenkinsopp treated his work in greatest detail. Hurvitz, in turn, responded with an article of his own, entitled "Once Again: The Linguistic Profile of the Priestly Material in the Pentateuch and its Historical Age."<sup>35</sup> My views on the subject are well known: I agree wholeheartedly with Hurvitz: the language of "P" shows clearly that the work is pre-exilic. Blenkinsopp summarized some of my views as well in the aforementioned article, and the following comments are a brief reaction thereto.

With reference to my article "Late Biblical Hebrew and the Date of 'P',"<sup>36</sup> Blenkinsopp wrote, "in fact all that his survey shows is that P is earlier than Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, Esther, Daniel and Ben Sira, which will come as no surprise to anyone working in this area" (p. 510). But as anyone who has read my article knows, such is not the case. I not only stated the obvious, that "P" is earlier than the aforementioned books, but I also presented evidence pointing to the relative antiquity of the Priestly source.

The most important piece of evidence, in my opinion, is the presence of nine (!) cases of the 3rd person common dual pronominal suffix  $\text{םה-}$  in "P" (Exod 28:9, 28:11, 28:14, 28:26, 28:27, 30:4, 39:7, 39:18, 39:20). In all these cases, the antecedent is *two* of something (stones, chains, rings, etc.) (see above Section I). It is not clear to me whether or not Blenkinsopp fully understood this linguistic point, because he referred to the phenomenon under discussion as "the third person common pronominal [*sic*] suffix" (p. 510, n. 38), omitting the key word "dual."<sup>37</sup> Regardless of this point, however, he dismissed the evidence because "of the nine P occurrences five are from one chapter (Ex 28) and seven from Ex 25-31, hardly representative of P as a whole" (*ibid.*). Actually, six (not seven) examples occur in Exodus 25-31, but this minor error aside, I do not follow Blenkinsopp's reasoning. The bottom line is: the Priestly source shows the greatest concentration of the 3rd person common dual pronominal suffix  $\text{םה-}$  in the Bible, even if five instances occur in one chapter. This form is an archaic usage in Biblical Hebrew: it is an element of proto-Semitic, it is attested in Ugaritic as a standard form, but it is "on the way out" in Iron Age Hebrew.

<sup>34</sup> Blenkinsopp 1996. In lieu of footnotes, direct quotations from this article are followed by page numbers in the range of pp. 495-518, within parentheses.

<sup>35</sup> Hurvitz 2000.

<sup>36</sup> Rendsburg 1980c. Here, too, in lieu of footnotes, direct quotations from this article are followed by page numbers in the range of pp. 65-80, within parentheses.

<sup>37</sup> Blenkinsopp also appeared to be unaware of Blau's article; or at least he did not cite it.

I take this opportunity to adjust the chart presented in my earlier article, to bring the evidence into greater focus.<sup>38</sup> This key grammatical form is attested in the Bible as follows:

*Early works:*<sup>39</sup>

Priestly source (see above list)	9
Narrative texts in the Torah (Gen 18:20, 19:9, Exod 1:21)	3
Judges (16:3 [2x], 19:24 [3x])	5
1 Samuel (6:7 [3x], 6:10 [2x], 6:12)	6
Ruth (1:19, 4:11)	2

*Works dated c. 650 – c. 550 BCE:*

Proverbs (6:21 [2x])	2
Jeremiah (33:24)	1
Ezekiel (23:45, 23:46, 23:47 [2x])	4

*Late Works:*

Zechariah (5:9)	1
Song of Songs (4:2 [2x], 6:6 [2x])	4
Qohelet (2:10)	1

It is clear from this tabulation that the later one proceeds in the development of Biblical Hebrew, the rarer this usage becomes. At first glance, the Song of Songs evidence seems to suggest that a post-exilic author could utilize this form freely, but a closer look reveals that Song 4:2 and 6:6 are the same words repeated, שכלם מתאימות ושכלה אין בהם “all of them matched and none of them missing,” with the antecedent being שינך “your teeth” earlier in the verse.

<sup>38</sup> I erred in my accounting of the הֵם- forms in Rendsburg 1980c, p. 77, because I stated that there are 43 examples. Actually, as stated above in Section I, there are 38 cases. I reached 43 by mistakenly including the 5 instances of כֵּם- (as noted above, a sixth has now been identified). I here now adjust the chart to include only the 38 cases of הֵם-, the key form relevant to the Priestly source. More importantly, I rework the dating schema from that which was presented in Rendsburg 1980c, p. 77.

<sup>39</sup> “Early,” of course, is a relative term. From this chart, it is clear that I consider “early” to be anything before 650 BCE, but actually I believe that the Torah, Judges, Samuel, and Ruth date from the 10th century in the main. This is not the place for a justification of that view. On Genesis, see Rendsburg 1996. On the Torah in general see Rendsburg 2001. The typology of literary style established by Frank Polak, based on a detailed analysis of the biblical narrative corpus, also indicates that the books of Genesis through Samuel are relatively early. See Polak 1997 and Polak 1998.

Once more: the Priestly source has more examples of this usage than any other section of the Bible, a point which argues strongly for the early date of "P."<sup>40</sup> And by "early" I mean "early," which in my mind could be as early as the 10th century (see note 39 above), not just "earlier than Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, Esther, Daniel and Ben Sira" as Blenkinsopp interprets.

### III. Additional Comments in Response to Professor Blenkinsopp

The following comments do not relate to the above discussion directly, but I take the opportunity to comment briefly on two other points raised by Blenkinsopp. In my article, I wrote that Zechariah 1-8 is "a work roughly contemporary with Chronicles" (p. 70). Blenkinsopp paraphrases this statement, and then adds that I apparently would date Chronicles to "the early Persian period" or "the sixth century B.C." (p. 510). I do not. I accept the fact that Chronicles dates to the 5th century BCE, perhaps even the 4th century BCE. In the same article I referred to (vis-à-vis Chronicles) "the contemporary book of Esther" (p. 67), a work set in the 5th century and composed obviously no earlier than the mid-5th century. When I referred to Zechariah 1-8 as "a work roughly contemporary with Chronicles," I was speaking about one particular grammatical point, the use of *ויהי*, contrasting the distribution of this word in Deuteronomy, where it appears 7 times in 955 verses, with its distribution in Zechariah 1-8, where it occurs 8 times in 121 verses. In such a discussion, it is clear that I could refer to Zechariah 1-8 as "roughly contemporary with Chronicles," without dating the latter to the 6th century BCE.

Finally, Blenkinsopp dismisses the lack of Persian words in "P" as irrelevant because such words "are relatively rare and are restricted in contexts involving dealings with Persian imperial authorities" (p. 511, n. 38). Obviously there are many such words in the later books of the Bible, but one also encounters Persian words that are not limited to such contexts. One may ask: how is it that a relatively short work such as Song of Songs includes the word *פרדס*, and that a slightly longer work such as Qohelet includes the words *פרדס* and *פתגם*, but that an extended work such as the Priestly source evinces no Persian loanwords? Given the subject matter of "P," and assuming for a moment that it stems from the Persian period, true, one most likely would not encounter a word such as *אחשדרפן* "satrap" (at-

<sup>40</sup> Of course, I already have placed "P" in the "Early Books" category in the chart, but even if it were not there, one still could see that the earlier biblical books witness 3rd person common dual *הם*- more than the later biblical books.

tested in Ezra and Esther), but one might expect to encounter a key word such as דָּר “decree, word, law, judgment” (also attested in Ezra and Esther).<sup>41</sup> The total absence of Persian words from “P” — and indeed from the entire Torah — speaks loudly and clearly.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> In time the oral reading tradition of the Torah introduced *dāt* into Deut 33:2, but almost all scholars agree that this is a secondary development. The string of letters אִשְׁדֹּת originally meant something else. For discussion, see Rendsburg 1980b.

<sup>42</sup> This point has also not been addressed by those scholars who in recent years have argued that the Torah as a whole, along with much of the Bible, stems from the Persian period (P. R. Davies, N. P. Lemche, T. L. Thompson, etc.).

- 1980c "Late Biblical Hebrew and the Date of 'P'." *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society* 12: 65-80.
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THE DATA

Pronouns	אָהם	הֵם	כֵּם-	הֵם <sup>i</sup>	Total Pronouns <sup>iii</sup>
With feminine dual antecedents	0	5	6	38 (12)	23
With feminine plural antecedents	1	7	12	x <sup>ii</sup> (30)	50
Verbs	קטלה	קטלהם	יקטלו	תקטלו	קטלו (imperative)
With feminine dual subjects	4	2	27	0	29
With feminine plural subjects	18	0	41	12	41 or 60 <sup>v</sup>
Total forms					
With feminine dual antecedents and subjects:	23 + 29 = 52				
With feminine plural antecedents and subjects:	50 + 41 = 91, or 50 + 60 = 110				

NOTES TO CHART

<sup>i</sup> The numbers in parentheses indicate the number of attestations in the Torah only. This becomes relevant because we do not know the number of cases of הֵם- with feminine plural antecedents overall. In lieu of a complete survey, I would estimate approximately 100, but one cannot say for sure. I had believed that my list in Rendsburg, 1990, pp. 45–48, with 67 examples, was complete, but it is clear that I missed numerous examples.

<sup>ii</sup> The symbol “x” is used because of the uncertainty expressed above, n. i.

<sup>iii</sup> The total counts include only those cases of הֵם- appearing in the Torah, that is, the numbers in parentheses.

<sup>iv</sup> We do not include the counts for קטלה forms, for the reason stated in the article.

<sup>v</sup> If we count only the קטלהם and יקטלו forms, for which we can actually compare data, then we arrive at 41 total verb forms. If we count the תקטלו and imperative קטלו forms also, then we arrive at 60 total verb forms.

# Biblical Hebrew Word Order and Saadya Gaon's Translation of the Pentateuch

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## Abstract

*This paper examines translation patterns for Biblical Hebrew nominal and verbal clauses in the Arabic translation of Saadya Gaon. The examination is based on three major versions (Derenbourg edition, Ḥasīd edition, and Ms. St. Petersburg), but considers other versions as well (Ms. Add. 1008 held in Cambridge, Constantinople, London and Paris Polyglots, and Geniza fragments). Although the data reveals differences among the various versions, it is possible to trace consistent syntactical patterns of nominal and verbal clauses typical of Saadya's translation. These patterns shed light on the syntactical characteristics of Saadya's Arabic, and they reflect well the original Biblical Hebrew word order.*

## I.

Bible translations can contribute to understanding Biblical Hebrew and their own syntax as long as they exhibit some flexibility in the relationship between the original Hebrew text and the translation.\* Several Semitic translations are regarded as very close to the original Hebrew text, and their language is disrupted and unnatural. Other translations enjoy more freedom, so they well reflect the syntactical patterns of the target language, and

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in certain cases of the source language too. Saadya Gaon's translation of the Pentateuch is a good example of the latter. Its flexibility is evident not only in matters of syntax but of exegesis as well.<sup>1</sup> The translation provides explanatory additions or abbreviations and might change the meaning of words where, in the translator's opinion, it is important, mostly for theological reasons.

One example<sup>2</sup> of such a deviation from the original text is Genesis 3:14 — **וַיֹּאמֶר ה' אֱלֹהִים אֶל-הַנָּחָשׁ כִּי עָשִׂיתָ זֹאת אֲרוּרְ אַתָּה מִכָּל-הַבְּהֵמָה וּמִכָּל חַיֵּית הָאָרֶץ עַל-נִחְנָךְ תֵּלֵךְ וְעָפָר תֹּאכַל כָּל-יְמֵי חַיֶּיךָ** — "Then the Lord God said to the serpent, Because you did this, more cursed shall you be than all cattle and all the wild beasts: On your belly shall you crawl and dirt shall you eat all the days of your life."<sup>3</sup> Saadya Gaon's translation provides here the addition of **בְּעֵלֶם** (*bi'ilim*) — "with knowledge" and the full translation of the first part of the verse is: **...קָאֵל אֱלֹהִים לִלְתַּעְבָּאן אֵד צִנַּעַת הָדָא בְּעֵלֶם**.<sup>4</sup> This addition is meant to show that the serpent is not just accused of doing something very wrong, but of being aware of doing so. God, according to this addition, does not punish wrongdoing except when the wrongdoer is supposed to be responsible for what he does.<sup>5</sup>

More important for our discussion here are questions of syntactical changes. These may shed light on the syntactical patterns of Biblical Hebrew or the Arabic of the translation. The following discussion presents and explains translation patterns reflecting word order of nominal and verbal clauses in Biblical Hebrew and the Arabic of Saadya Gaon.

## 2. Nominal Clause Word Order

Biblical Hebrew generally presents two simple and three complex nominal clause types. In the two simple types the main parts are subject and

<sup>1</sup> As for the flexibility of this translation, see e.g. Blau 1998a:237, 1998b:111, 113, and the testimony of Saadya Gaon himself in the introduction to his work in Derenbourg 1893:4.

<sup>2</sup> Instances in Judaeo-Arabic are cited according to the spelling of Derenbourg edition. Whenever other versions are cited differences in spelling are presented accordingly (Citations from London Polyglot and Paris Polyglot, which employ Arabic letters, are presented in transcription). The major versions examined for this paper are Ms. St. Petersburg (Pt), Derenbourg edition (D) and Ḥasīd edition (T). Other versions that have been examined and are cited occasionally are Ms. Add. 1008, the mostly similar versions of London Polyglot (L) and Paris Polyglot (P), Constantinople Polyglot (C) and fragments from Geniza. The Geniza fragments represent wide variety of sources from diverse periods and places, according to which they have not yet been sorted. Therefore, they cannot contribute to a description of a specific dialect of Medieval Arabic but only add more information.

<sup>3</sup> English translations are according to *JPS*, unless otherwise mentioned.

<sup>4</sup> For the reason for this addition see Derenbourg 1893:9, note 1.

<sup>5</sup> See more instances in Polliack 1997:177-178, §7.2 and Kreisler 1999.

predicate in the order of predicate — subject (type A below) or subject — predicate (type A2 below). The three complex types involve extraposition and present an extraposed sentence part in initial or final position and a predicate clause functioning as its predicate. Patterns and instances of these nominal clause types and their translations are as follows.<sup>6</sup>

*Type A: Predicate — Subject*

This type sometimes maintains its original predicate — subject word order in Saadya Gaon's translation, and sometimes changes to subject — predicate. Instances in which the Arabic translation maintains the original word order are as follows.

Genesis 42:9 — מְרִגְלִים אַתֶּם — “You are spies.”

D: וְאַתֶּם גּוֹאֲסִים. Pt and T: אַתֶּם גּוֹאֲסִים. The latter reversed word order reflects preference for subject — predicate word order.<sup>8</sup>

Exodus 9:27 — הַיְצָדִיק — “The Lord is in the right.”

D and T: אֱלֹהֵי אֱלֵעָדֵל. This verse is not preserved in Pt.

Genesis 48:18 — כִּי־יָהּ הַבְּכֹר — “For the other is the first-born.”

D and T: בֶּל הָאֵל בְּכֹר. Without בֶּל in Pt.<sup>9</sup>

Instances in which the Arabic translation inverts the original word order are as follows.

Genesis 20:7 — כִּי־נָבִיא הוּא — “Since he is a prophet.”

D, T and Pt: אֵנָּה נָבִי.

Exodus 2:6 — מִי־לִדֵּי הָעִבְרִים זֶה — “This must be a Hebrew child.”

D, T and Pt: הָאֵל מִן אֱלֵעֲבְרָאִיִן.

Exodus 18:11 — כִּי־גָדוֹל הַמֶּכֶל־הָאֱלֹהִים — “That the Lord is greater than all gods.”

D and T: אֵן אֱלֹהֵי אֶכְבֵּר מִן גִּמְעֵי אֱלִמְעִבּוֹדָאֵת. Pt presents two different versions, however, with similar syntactical inversion: אֵן אֱלֹהֵי אֶגִּיל אֶכְבֵּר אֱלִמְעִבּוֹדָאֵת.

<sup>6</sup> For a detailed discussion of these types in Biblical Hebrew see Zewi 1994. For a discussion of their translation patterns in Saadya Gaon's translation of the Pentateuch see Zewi 1997. For other discussions of nominal clause patterns, see e.g. Driver 1892:264-274, §196-§201, Joüon 1947:466-472, §154, Joüon & Muraoka 1996:564-577, §154, Kautzsch 1910:451-455, §141, Waltke & O'Connor 1990:130-135, §8.4, 297-299, §16.3.3, and many more references in Miller 1999.

<sup>7</sup> As well as C.

<sup>8</sup> Reverse word order also occurs in L and P and in several versions found in the Geniza (T-S Ar. 19.143, T-S Ar. 21.75, T-S Ar. 21.83).

<sup>9</sup> The word בֶּל also appears in C. However, in L, P and Add. 1008 *inna* אֵן replaces בֶּל.

*Type A2: Subject — Predicate*

Subject — predicate word order never changes in the translation.<sup>10</sup> Instances are as follows.

Genesis 4:19 — שֵׁם הָאִחָת עָדָה וְשֵׁם הַשְּׁנִית צִלָּה — “The name of the one was Adah, and the name of the other was Zillah.”

D and T: אִסַּם אַחְדָּהּמָא עָדָה וְאַלְאֲכָרִי צִלָּה. This verse is not preserved in Pt.

Genesis 27:27 — רָאָה רֵיחַ בְּנִי כְרִיחַ שְׂדֵה — “The smell of my son is like the smell of the fields that the Lord has blessed.”

D and T: רָאִיחָה אֲבִנִי כְרִאיחָה רוּחָה. This verse is not preserved in Pt.

Deuteronomy 11:11 — וְהָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אַתֶּם עֹבְרִים שָׁמָּה לְרִשְׁתָּהּ אֶרֶץ הָרִים וּבָקָעַת — “But the land you are about to cross into and possess is a land of hills and valleys.”<sup>11</sup>

D, T and Pt: לִכְן אֶל־אֶרֶץ אֲלֹתֵי אַנְתֶּם גְּאִיזוֹן אֱלִיָּהָ לְתַחֲוּוּהָ אֶרֶץ גְּבָאֵל וּבָקָע.

From the point of view of Arabic the fact that subject — predicate word order always stays in the Arabic translation, and predicate — subject word order sometimes stays and sometimes changes to subject — predicate, certainly reflects the dominance of subject — predicate word order in the Arabic translation. This dominance is observed in Classical Arabic and is indicated by Classical Arabic grammars.<sup>12</sup>

From the point of view of Biblical Hebrew instances that exhibit inversion of predicate — subject to subject — predicate reflect correct identification of the syntactical function of the main sentence members. The question of identification of subject and predicate is difficult in most Semitic languages, including Biblical Hebrew. To learn which is which, one has to rely on definiteness and indefiniteness of the main clause parts wherever possible, and in all instances the context plays a very important role. Since in Arabic a predicate is second following a subject, when the Arabic translation moves the first main clause part to a second position it indicates that in the translator's opinion the Biblical Hebrew main clause part in first position is indeed the predicate.

<sup>10</sup> For this observation also see Polliack 1997:165, §6.14.

<sup>11</sup> The *JPS* translates “but the land you are about to cross into and possess, a land of hills and valleys...” interpreting the last phrase as apposition, but the context suggests that it is the predicate.

<sup>12</sup> Reckendorf 1921:8-9, §4, 1895:1-2, §2, 3, §3, Wright 1898:253-254, §115-§117. Brockelmann (1913:92-93, §47) indicates that the subject — predicate word order is dominant in the nominal clause in Semitic languages including Arabic. These three scholars mention the possibility of inversion in certain cases. Whether Brockelmann's view regarding Semitic languages other than Arabic is true or not is a subject for another discussion.

*Type B: Subject — Predicate Clause (Predicate — Subject/Personal Pronoun)*<sup>13</sup>

This sentence type is mostly translated by two Arabic patterns in Saadya Gaon translation. The first type shows inversion of the predicate clause by putting the personal pronoun before the predicate. The second type omits the personal pronoun, and consequently forms a pattern that consists of two main parts instead of three. Instead of the pattern of subject — predicate clause that includes an independent personal pronoun functioning as a resumptive pronoun to an extraposed subject, the word order becomes subject — predicate only. Both types avoid a translation in which the personal pronoun representing the subject in the predicate clause is in final position.

The following are instances of the two patterns of translations of type B.

*Subject — Predicate Clause (Predicate — Subject/Personal Pronoun) > Subject — Predicate Clause (Subject/Personal Pronoun — Predicate)*

Genesis 31:16 — כִּי כָל-הָעֶשֶׂר אֲשֶׁר הִצִּיל אֱלֹהִים מֵאֲבִינוּ לָנוּ הוּא וּלְבָנֵינוּ — “All the wealth that God has taken away from our father belongs to us and to our children.”

D: אַמָּא<sup>14</sup> גָּמִיעַ אֵלֶנָּא<sup>15</sup> אֵלֵדִי אַפֵּאדָה אֵלֵלָה מִן קַבֵּל אֲבִינָא הוּ לָנָא וּלְבָנֵינוּ<sup>16</sup>. Minor changes but similar word order in T and Pt.

Genesis 45:20 — כִּי-טוֹב כָּל-אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם לָכֶם הוּא — “For the best of all the land of Egypt shall be yours.”

D and T: אֵן<sup>17</sup> זִיר גָּמִיעַ בִּלְד מִצְרַיִם הוּ לָכֶם. This verse is not preserved in Pt. Numbers 13:32 — הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר עָבְרָנוּ בָּהּ לְתוֹר אֶתָּה אֶרֶץ אֲכָלֶת יוֹשְׁבֶיהָ הוּא — “The country that we traversed and scouted is one that devours its settlers.”

D and T: אֵלֵבִלְד אֵלֵדִי מִרְרָנָא בַּה פִּרְמָנָא<sup>18</sup> הוּ בִלְד יֵהֲלֵךְ אֵהֵלָה. This verse is not preserved in Pt.

Sometimes the translation occurs with פ (fa) between the extraposed part and the following clause, a fact that supports the interpretation of this pattern as extraposition. One such instance is Genesis 30:33 — כָּל אֲשֶׁר-אֵינֻנוּ נֹקֵד — וְטָלוּא בְּעֵזִים וְחוּם בְּכִשְׂבִּים גָּנוּב הוּא אִתִּי — “If there are among my goats any that are not speckled or spotted or any sheep that are not dark-colored, they got there by theft.”

<sup>13</sup> This pattern consists of an extraposed subject and a following predicate clause. The predicate clause consists of predicate and subject.

<sup>14</sup> אַמָּא appears in C, L and P as well. In T and Add. 1008 אֵן and in Pt אַמָּא.

<sup>15</sup> In T and Add. 1008 אֵלֵסֵאֵר.

<sup>16</sup> In Pt, L and P and several Geniza fragments (T-S Ar. 23.70, T-S Ar. 24.137) וּלְאִילָאֲדָנָא.

<sup>17</sup> In T אֵן.

<sup>18</sup> In T and Add. 1008 לְנִרְוָמָה.

D and T: כל מא לים הו מנקט ואבלק מן אלמאעו<sup>19</sup> וחמא מן אלצאן איצא פהו  
מסרוק ענדי. This verse is not preserved in Pt.<sup>20</sup>

*Subject — Predicate Clause (Predicate — Subject/Personal Pronoun) > Subject — Predicate*

Genesis 40:12 — שְׁלֹשֶׁת הַשָּׁרָגִים שְׁלֹשֶׁת יָמִים הֵם — “The three branches are three days.”

D, T and Pt: אלתלאהה קצבאן<sup>21</sup> תלאהה אים.

Exodus 3:5 — כִּי הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר אָתָּה עומד עָלָיו אֲדָמַת קֹדֶשׁ הוּא — “For the place on which you stand is holy ground.”

D, T and Pt: פאן אלמוצע אלדי אנת ואקף עליה מקדס.

Exodus 16:36 — וְהָעֹמֶר עֶשְׂרִית הָאִיפָה הוּא — “The omer is a tenth of an ephah.”

D, T and Pt: וכאן אלמרובאן עשר אלויבה.

In certain cases the various translations of Saadya differ in the patterns they choose, such as Deuteronomy 1:17 — כִּי הַמִּשְׁפָּט לֵאלֹהִים הוּא — “For judgment is God’s.” This instance is translated in D according to the first pattern, with a personal pronoun before the predicate: פאן אלהכם הו ללה. In T and Pt it is translated according to the second pattern, without a personal pronoun: לאן אלהכם ללה.<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless, all Saadya’s translations of this instance deviate from the original pattern.

In general, all Saadya’s translations of type B deviate from the original Biblical Hebrew word order, either by inversion of subject and predicate within the predicate clause or by shortening.

*Type C: Predicate Clause (Predicate — Subject/Personal Pronoun) — Subject<sup>25</sup>*

This sentence type is mostly typical in questions, in which it is generally preserved in Saadya Gaon’s translation. As for declarative sentences, it is

<sup>19</sup> In T פכל מא לים הי מנקטה ובלקא פי אלמאעו.

<sup>20</sup> This translation is also found in Add. 1008 and C, L and P. It repeats in four Geniza fragments (T-S Ar. 21.9, T-S Ar. 22.77, T-S Ar. 24.31, T-S Ar. 25.177). Only one Geniza fragment maintains the original Hebrew word order and avoids the פ מסרוק הו ענדי (T-S Ar. 23.51).

<sup>21</sup> In T תלתה קצבאן. In Pt תלתה קצבאן אלקצבאן.

<sup>22</sup> However, note that L and P present *hiya* in final position, i.e. maintain the original Hebrew pattern, which is totally absent from all other translations in all occasions. One Geniza fragment presents the original Hebrew pattern with a plural personal pronoun הם in final position (T-S Ar. 24.21).

<sup>23</sup> In T לאן.

<sup>24</sup> No personal pronoun appears in Add. 1008 and in L and the P.

<sup>25</sup> This pattern consists of an extraposed subject following a predicate clause. The predicate clause consists of predicate and subject.

hard to discern between type C and type D only according to pattern, since in both structures the personal pronoun is in the middle between two nominal phrases. Because Arabic prefers to introduce an independent personal pronoun presenting a subject before its predicate, as can be clearly seen in type B above, it is better to assume that all declarative sentences with independent personal pronoun in the middle in the Arabic translation belong to type D, with a stress on the independent personal pronoun. According to this assumption such personal pronouns are actually predicates by themselves within a predicate clause and not subjects. Such instances will be presented and explained under type D below.

As to type C in questions, in the Biblical Hebrew pattern the personal pronoun is sometimes replaced by a demonstrative pronoun. Saadya Gaon's translation is inconsistent regarding the exact translation of the pronoun, and it might occasionally translate a personal pronoun by a demonstrative one, and vice versa. This interchange actually reflects an identical role of these pronouns in the pattern of type C. Another possible Arabic translation shows omission of personal or demonstrative pronouns, and consequently the complex nominal sentence becomes a simple one including subject and predicate only. The subject in type C is commonly a verbal clause with the status of a subject clause. The verbal clause might be marked as an independent relative clause with the role of a subject by a subordinate relative particle or not, but its status as a subject clause still remains.<sup>26</sup>

#### *Instances with personal or demonstrative pronouns*

Genesis 27:33 — מִי־אִפּוֹא הוּא הַצֶּדֶד־צִיד — “Who was it then that hunted game?”

D: פֶּמֶן דָּאךְ אֵלֶי צִידָא. In T the version is a little different. It contains one personal and one demonstrative pronoun, but generally keeps the same pattern: מֶן הוּא אֵלֶי אֲצַתָּאד צִידָא. This verse is not preserved in Pt.<sup>27</sup>

Genesis 33:15 — לָמָּה זֶה אֶמְצָא־חֵן בְּעֵינֵי אֲדֹנִי — “Why should my Lord be so kind to me?”<sup>28</sup>

D, and similarly in T and Pt: לִמָּא דָא וגדת חטא<sup>29</sup> ענד סירי.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>26</sup> For the status of such clauses see Goldenberg 1977 and Goldenberg 1998a:179-185, §15-§16.

<sup>27</sup> In Add. 1008 appears only a personal pronoun הוּא אֵלֶי אֲצַתָּאד צִידָא. The version מֶן הוּא אֵלֶי אֲצַתָּאד צִידָא appears in one Geniza fragment (T-S Ar. 21.52).

<sup>28</sup> This translation is according to *NRSV*.

<sup>29</sup> In T אנד כל הדא אלחט. In Pt וגדת חטא.

<sup>30</sup> The דָא appears in one Geniza fragment (T-S Ar. 23.70). L and P omit the דָא.

Exodus 5:22 — לָמָּה זֶה שְׁלַחְתָּנִי — “Why did you send me?”

D, T and Pt: ולם<sup>32</sup> לא בעתת בי

*Instances without personal or demonstrative pronouns*

Genesis 18:13 — לָמָּה זֶה צָחָקָה שָׂרָה — “Why did Sarah laugh?”

D, T and Pt: לם צחכת סארה

Genesis 27:21- — הֲאֵתָה זֶה בְּנִי עֲשׂוֹ אִם-לֹא — “Whether you are really my son Esau or not.”

D and T: הל את אבני עשו אם לא. This verse is not preserved in Pt.

Numbers 11:20 — לָמָּה זֶה יֵצְאוּנוּ מִמִּצְרַיִם — “Why did we ever leave Egypt?”

D and T: לם אכרנא<sup>33</sup> מן מצר. This verse is not preserved in Pt.

*Type D: Subject — Predicate Clause (Predicate/Personal Pronoun — Subject)*<sup>34</sup>

The translation of this type generally maintains the Biblical Hebrew word order. Note that the subject of the predicate clause might be not only a nominal phrase but an independent relative clause introduced by a verb or a definite participle as well.

Instances are the following.

Genesis 3:12 — הָאִשָּׁה אֲשֶׁר נָתַתָּה עִמָּדִי הִוא נָתַתָּה-לִּי מִן-הָעֵץ — “The woman you put at my side — she gave me of the tree.”

D and much similarly T: אלאמראה אלתי געלתהא מעי הי אעטתני מן אלשורה

This verse is not preserved in Pt.

Genesis 42:6 — וַיֹּסֶף הוּא הַשְּׁלִיט עַל-הָאָרֶץ הוּא הַמְּשָׁבִיר לְכָל-עַם הָאָרֶץ — “Now Joseph was the vizier of the land; it was he who dispensed rations to all the people of the land.”

D, T and Pt: ויוסף הו סלטאן אלבלד והו<sup>35</sup> ממיר לגמיע קומה

Leviticus 25:33 — כִּי בְתֵי עָרֵי הַלְוִיִּם הוּא אֲחֻזָּתָם בְּתוֹךְ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל — “For the houses in the cities of the Levites are their holding among the Israelites.”

D, T and Pt: לאן ביותרם וקראהם הי חוזהם פי מא בין בני אסראיל

In a few cases פ (*fā*) appears in the translation after the extraposed subject, thus marking its role as such. One instance is Numbers 16:7 — וְהָיָה הָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר-יִבְחַר ה' הוּא הַקָּדוֹשׁ — “Then the man whom the Lord chooses, he

<sup>31</sup> In T and Pt אלמא.

<sup>32</sup> L and P omit again the לא.

<sup>33</sup> In D the translation of אכרנא is actually “took us out.” In T כרנא with the original meaning.

<sup>34</sup> This pattern consists of an extraposed subject followed by a predicate clause. The predicate clause consists of predicate and subject.

<sup>35</sup> In T הו.

shall be the holy one.” Saadya Gaon’s translation to this verse in D and Pt is with פ (fa): אלתארה אללה פהו אלמקדס: פאי רגל.<sup>36</sup> However, T provides a version without the פ (fa).<sup>37</sup>

### 3. Verbal Clause Word Order

The question of word order in Biblical Hebrew verbal clause is complex, since it is related to the choice of certain verb forms and the expression of time. Verbal clause word order is covered in many general syntactical treatments of Biblical Hebrew<sup>38</sup> as well as works dedicated to this issue.<sup>39</sup> A detailed discussion of this topic is not necessary here, since the following discussion concentrates only on certain instances in which the Arabic translation of Saadya Gaon sheds special light on syntactical Biblical Hebrew patterns or on Medieval Arabic characteristics.

Classical Arabic is well known for its tendency to introduce a verbal clause by a verb.<sup>40</sup> This tendency is not kept in Medieval Arabic. Blau indicates that many Medieval Judaeo-Arabic dialects present coexistence of verbal clauses in which a subject precedes the verb, and others in which the verb precedes the subject.<sup>41</sup> Blau also presents many instances with varied word order patterns of Medieval Christian Arabic verbal clauses, some of which are translations imitating Aramaic, Syriac, and Greek patterns.<sup>42</sup> This interchange among patterns also appears in the translation of Saadya Gaon. Since verb — subject is the normal Classical Arabic word order of verbal clauses, the following instances only demonstrate subject — verb word order in the Arabic translation, usually following subject — verb word order in the original Hebrew text. Note that in one case, Genesis 2:7, subject —

<sup>36</sup> As well as L and P.

<sup>37</sup> As well as Add. 1008 and C.

<sup>38</sup> See e.g. Joüon 1947:472-476, §155, Joüon & Muraoka 1996: 577-586, §155, Kautzsch 1910:455-457, §142.

<sup>39</sup> Two recent examples of such works are Gross 1996 and Goldfajn 1998, and see many other references there.

<sup>40</sup> In Arab grammatical tradition a clause introduced by a verb is considered a verbal clause, while a clause with a verb in second position is regarded as nominal. As to Classical Arabic linguistic evidence, a verb usually precedes its subject, but a type, in which the verb is not initial, exists as well in certain conditions. On the definition of verbal sentence in Arabic, the verb-subject typical word order, and the special congruence in Classical Arabic verbal clauses, see Wright 1898:251-252, §113, Reckendorf 1921:9-10, §5-§6, 1895:1-2, §2, Fischer 1987:163-165, §351, §355-§356. For subject and predicate in verbal and nominal sentences in Arab grammatical tradition see Goldenberg 1988.

<sup>41</sup> Blau 1980:261-265, §416-§424, 1981:79-80, 94.

<sup>42</sup> Blau 1967:603-614, §503-§523.



verb word order appears in the translation even when the Biblical Hebrew original word order is verb — subject.<sup>43</sup>

Genesis 2:7 — וַיִּצְרֶה אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הָאָדָם עָפָר מִן־הָאֲדָמָה — “The Lord God formed man from the dust of the earth.”

D and Pt: וְאֵן אֵלֵּלָה כָּלֶק אָדָם תְּרַאבָּא מִן אֵלֶאֱרִין.<sup>44</sup> The Biblical Hebrew pattern of verb — subject is replaced by subject-verb word order in two versions. However, T: פִּכְלֶק אֵלֵּלָה אָדָם תְּרַאב מִן אֵלֶאֱרִין maintains the Biblical Hebrew original word order.<sup>45</sup>

Genesis 31:7 — וְאֶבִּיכֵן הִתֵּל בִּי וַהֲחֵלָה אֶת־מִשְׁכָּרְתִּי עֲשֶׂרֶת מָנִים וְלֹא־נָתַנּוּ אֱלֹהִים — “But you father has cheated me, changing my wages time and again. God, however, would not let him do me harm.”

D, T and Pt: סָכַר בִּי וּבְדֵל אֲגֵרְתִּי עֲשֶׂרָה אַעֲדָאד וְלֹם יִדְעָה אֵלֵּלָה אֵן יִסִּי — “But you father has cheated me, changing my wages time and again. God, however, would not let him do me harm.”<sup>46</sup>

Exodus 14:29 — וּבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הִלְכוּ בַיַּבֶּשֶׁה בְּתוֹךְ הַיָּם — “But the Israelites had marched through the sea on dry ground.”

D, T and Pt: וּבְנו אִסְרָאִיל סָאֵרוּ פִּי אֵלִיבֵס פִּי וְסֵט אֵלְבַּחַר. All three versions maintain the original subject — verb word order.<sup>48</sup>

The varied instances of Saadya Gaon's translation regarding word order of verbal clauses presented above are still more evidence of the deviations from Classical Arabic verbal clause patterns in early Medieval Arabic, or in Blau's definition, Post-Classical Arabic.<sup>49</sup> However, they do not shed special light on the syntax of Biblical Hebrew. More important to the study of Biblical Hebrew syntax is the phenomenon of replacing verbal sentences in which an object or an adverbial phrase takes initial position by complete extrapositions in the Arabic translation.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>43</sup> This evidence is contra to Polliack 1997:164-165, §6.14, who indicates that Saadya Gaon's translation as well as the Karaite translations follow Biblical Hebrew VS and SV word order.

<sup>44</sup> As well as C, L and P.

<sup>45</sup> As well as Add. 1008.

<sup>46</sup> In Pt אֵבִיכָמָא.

<sup>47</sup> In T אֵלִי.

<sup>48</sup> For Karaite translations to this verse see Polliack 1997:165, §6.14.

<sup>49</sup> For this definition of this level of Arabic see Blau 1998b:116, and note 20 *ibid.*, 1998c, 1999.

<sup>50</sup> Such a pattern for direct objects is recognized by Blau regarding Medieval Christian Arabic, and he regards it as a live phenomenon (Blau 1967:609, §517.1). Blau also indicates its existence in Medieval Judaeo-Arabic (Blau 1981:232, and also see discussion and many references in Blau 1972:33-36). For this structure with direct and indirect objects in Saadya Gaon's translation and Karaite translations see Polliack 1997:166-167, §16.4. According to my findings, this pattern also appears with adverbial phrases.

The replacement of an object or adverbial fronting in the original Biblical Hebrew text by a complete extraposition in the Arabic translation is mostly recognized as such through the addition of a resumptive pronoun to the predicate clause, the addition of the separating particle **ف** (*fā*) between the extraposed subject and the predicate clause, or both. This practice is probably partially related to the elimination of case marking at this level of Arabic, alongside the lack of an introductory direct object particle. Yet instances appear in which the original Biblical Hebrew word order, whose object or adverbial phrase is in initial position, does not change at all in the translation.<sup>51</sup> In other cases word order changes and the object or adverbial phrase follows the verb in the translation.<sup>52</sup>

When word order changes into extraposition it makes an important syntactical contribution to understanding Biblical Hebrew syntax, since it shows that the translator regards the fronted element as a logical subject of the whole sentence, although it is not marked as such in the original Biblical Hebrew text. Instances of this phenomena are as follows.<sup>53</sup>

Genesis 3:15 — **וְאֵיבָה אֶשֶׁת בִּינְךָ וּבִין הָאִשָּׁה** — “I will put enmity between you and the woman.”

D, T and Pt: **וְעֵדָאוּהָ אֶנְעֵלְהָא בִּינְךָ וּבִין אֱלֵאמְרָהָ**.<sup>54</sup>

Genesis 17:21 — **וְאֶת־בְּרִיתִי אָקִים אֶת־יִצְחָק** — “But my covenant I will maintain with Isaac.”

D and T: **וְעַד־י אֶתְבַּתָּה מֵע אֶסְחָק** (Corrupted in Pt).<sup>55</sup>

Genesis 19:11 — **וְאֶת־הָאֲנָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר־פָּתַח הַבַּיִת הָיוּ בְּסָנְיִים** — “And the people who were at the entrance of the house, young and old, they struck with blinding light.”

D and T: **וְאֶלְקִים אֱלֹדִי בְּבֹאב אֱלִבִּית צְרִבּוּהֶם בְּאֵלְעֶשָׂא** (No evidence from Pt).<sup>56</sup>

<sup>51</sup> See e.g. Exodus 34:17 (in D and T. This verse is not preserved in Pt; the verse is mentioned in Blau 1972:35), Leviticus 25:45 (D, T and Pt). For this possibility in Christian Arabic see Blau 1967:609-611, §517.2. For such instances in Saadya Gaon's translation see Blau 1972:35. Regarding Saadya Gaon's translation and the Karaite translations see Polliack 1997:166-169, §6.14.

<sup>52</sup> Leviticus 25:37 (D, T and Pt), Deuteronomy 3:2 (D, T and Pt), 19:2 (D, T and Pt).

<sup>53</sup> For many more references in Saadya Gaon's translation see Blau 1972:34-35.

<sup>54</sup> In Pt **אֱלֵמְרָהָ**. C and four Geniza fragments (T-S Ar. 22.30, 24.129, 25.17, 25.83) employ extraposition as well. However, Add. 1008 and L and P do not employ here extraposition. Add. 1008 keeps the original Hebrew word order while in L and P the verb is in initial position.

<sup>55</sup> Extraposition also appears in Add. 1008, C, L and P and in one Geniza fragment (T-S Ar. 22.107).

<sup>56</sup> Extraposition also appears in Add. 1008, C, L and P and in two Geniza fragments (T-S Ar. 23.15, T-S Ar. 25.130).

Exodus 11:1 — עוד גַּעַץ אֶחָד אָבִיא עַל־פַּרְעֹה וְעַל־מִצְרַיִם — “I will bring but one more plague upon Pharaoh and upon Egypt.”

D, T, and Pt: קֵד בְּקִי בִלָּא וְאֶחָד אֶתִּי בֵה<sup>57</sup> עַל־י פֶּרַעַן וְעַל־י אֶלְמִצְרַיִן.

Leviticus 26:2 — אֶת־שַׁבָּתֹתַי תִּשְׁמְרוּ וּמִקְדָּשִׁי תִירָאוּ — “You shall keep my sabbaths and venerate my sanctuary.”

D, T and Pt: סִבּוּתֵי פֶאֶחֶפְטוּ<sup>58</sup> וּמִקְדָּסִי פֶהֶאֱבֹה.

Deuteronomy 3:7 — וְכָל־הַבְּהֵמָה וְשִׁלַּל הָעָרִים בְּזוּנוֹ לָנוּ — “And we retained as booty all the cattle and the spoil of the towns.”

D, T and Pt: וְכָל בְּהִימָה וְסִלְבִּי אֶלְקָרִי גִנְמָנָהָא<sup>59</sup>.

In the following instances only the separate particle פ (*fa*) occurs between the original object that became extraposed subject and the predicate clause.

Leviticus 18:4 — אֶת־מִשְׁפָּטִי תַעֲשׂוּ וְאֶת־חֻקֹּתַי תִּשְׁמְרוּ — “My rules alone shall you observe, and faithfully follow my laws.”

D, T and Pt: אֶחָכָאֲמִי פֶאֶצְנַעְנוּ וּרְסוּמִי פֶאֶחֶפְטוּ.<sup>60</sup>

Leviticus 19:32 — מִפְּנֵי שִׁיבָה תָקוּם — “You shall rise before the aged.”

D, T and Pt: מִן בִּנֵי יָדֵי דִי אֶלְשִׁיבָה פָקָם.<sup>61</sup>

Deuteronomy 18:15 — וְנָבִיא מִקִּרְבְּךָ מֵאַחֶיךָ כָּמֹנִי יָקִים לְךָ ה' אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֵלָיו תִּשְׁמָעוּן — “The Lord your God will raise up for you a prophet from among your own people, like myself; him you shall heed.”

D, T and Pt: לָכֵן אִי נָבִי מִן בִּינְכֶם מִן בַּעֲץ אֶכּוּתֵךְ מִתְלִי יִנְצִבָה לְךָ אֶלְלָה רַבֵּךְ מִנָּה.<sup>62</sup> פֶּאֶקְבִּלִי.

In certain cases the various editions differ in the pattern they choose for the translation, like Exodus 23:9 — וְגֵר לֹא תִלְחָץ — “You shall not oppress a stranger.” D and T only invert the word order: וְלֹא תִצְנֹט אֶלְגֵּרִיב.<sup>63</sup> However, Pt employs extraposition marked by פ (*fa*) and a resumptive pronoun: וְאֵת שֵׁם אֶהֱרֹן תִּכְתֹּב — וְאֶלְגֵּרִיב פִּלָּא תִצְנֹטָה. Another instance is Numbers 17:18 — וְאֵת שֵׁם אֶהֱרֹן תִּכְתֹּב — עַל־מִטֵּה לֵוִי — “Also inscribe Aaron's name on the staff of Levi.” D translates this verse as extraposition: וְאֵסֵם הָרֹן פֶּאֶחֶתְבָה עַל־י עִצָּאָה לֵוִי.<sup>64</sup> Pt employs

<sup>57</sup> In T and Pt: אֶחָהָל. Extraposition is found in Add. 1008, C, L and P as well.

<sup>58</sup> In T and Pt: פֶּאֶחֶפְטוּהָא with a resumptive pronoun with the first verb too. A resumptive pronoun with this verb also appears in Add. 1008, L and P.

<sup>59</sup> Extraposition also occurs in C, L and P.

<sup>60</sup> The separate particle פ also appears in Add. 1008, C, L and P and two Geniza fragments (T-S Ar. 21.13, T-S Ar. 22.6).

<sup>61</sup> The particle פ appears in Add. 1008 and C, L and P as well.

<sup>62</sup> The translation considers the sentence part וְאֵלְהֶיךָ לְךָ ה' אֱלֹהֶיךָ as an asyndetic relative clause. The particle פ is also found in Add. 1008 and C, L and P, but it is absent from the Geniza fragment T-S Ar. 23.104 in which the version is מִנָּה תִסְמַעוּן.

<sup>63</sup> In T and Pt: גֵּרִיבָא. Similar translation appears in Add. 1008 and C, L and P.

<sup>64</sup> And similarly L and P.

similar translation without פ (*fa*).<sup>65</sup> However, T maintains the original structure: ואסם הרון אכתב עלי עצא לוי — “Similarly, Seir was formerly inhabited by the Horites” — ואמא פי — “Similarly, Seir was formerly inhabited by the Horites” — (D, T and Pt). This extraposition is marked by פ (*ammā fa*).<sup>67</sup> It also occurs when a subject precedes its verbal predicate, like Genesis 18:18 — ואברהם יהי וגדול ועצום — “Since Abraham is to become a great and populous nation” — ואברהם סיכון<sup>68</sup> מנהו אמה כבירה — “Since Abraham is to become a great and populous nation” — (D, T and Pt).<sup>69</sup>

Another interesting instance is Exodus 14:14 — וה' ילחם לכם ואמם — “The Lord will battle for you; you hold your peace” — תחרישון אללה — “The Lord will battle for you; you hold your peace” — (D, T. No evidence from Pt).<sup>70</sup> In this instance the extraposition of the second part of the verse reflects a true understanding of the contrast that exists between the two verse parts in Biblical Hebrew.

Another type of translation which occasionally occurs for certain Biblical Hebrew instances involves the particle אנמא (*innamā*). This variant is chosen when the initial object or adverbial phrase does not function, according to the interpretation of the translation, as a logical subject of the verbal clause but as its logical predicate. This particle marks the verbal clause as a nominalized subject clause and puts the object or adverbial phrase in final position in the status of a nominal predicate.<sup>71</sup> Instances are as follows.

Genesis 42:12 — לא כִּי־עָרֹת הָאָרֶץ בָּאתֶם לְרֹאוֹת — “No, you have come to see the land in its nakedness.”<sup>72</sup>

D, T and Pt: לא בל אנמא גיתם לתנטור<sup>73</sup> — “No, you have come to see the land in its nakedness.”

Exodus 32:12 — לֹמֶה יֹאמְרוּ מִצְרִים לְאֹמֶר בְּרָעָה הוֹצִיאָם — “Let not the Egyptians say, It was with evil intent that he delivered them.”

Pt: ולא יקול אלמצריון אנה אנמא אכרהם בשר. T presents only inversion of word order and D maintains the original word order.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>65</sup> As well as one Geniza fragment (T-S Ar. 24.25).

<sup>66</sup> Thus also Add. 1008 and C.

<sup>67</sup> In T אמא without פ. Similar translation with פ appears in Add. 1008 and C, L and P.

<sup>68</sup> In T and Pt סתכון.

<sup>69</sup> Similar translation occurs in Add. 1008 and C, L and P.

<sup>70</sup> Similar version occurs in Add. 1008, C, L and P and one Geniza fragment (T-S Ar. 22.51).

<sup>71</sup> For this pattern see Goldenberg 1971:78-79, §40.

<sup>72</sup> This verse and similar versions for the translation also appear earlier in Genesis 42:9.

<sup>73</sup> In T לתנטורין.

<sup>74</sup> Similar translations occur in Add. 1008, C, L and P and two Geniza fragments (T-S Ar. 19.143, T-S Ar. 21.83).

<sup>75</sup> אנמא does not occur in the other versions of Add. 1008 and C, L and P.

Another related instance is found in Numbers 24:13 — אֲשֶׁר־יִדְבַּר ה' אִתּוֹ — “What the Lord says, that I must say” — אֲדַבֵּר אל־י יְקוֹלָה אֱלֹלָה אֱקוֹלָה — “What the Lord says, that I must say” — אֲדַבֵּר אל־י יְקוֹלָה אֱלֹלָה אֱקוֹלָה (D), (T. This verse was not preserved in Pt). However, a translation with אַנְמָא occurs in Add. 1008, as follows: אַנְמָא אֲדַבֵּר אל־י יְקוֹלָה אֱלֹלָה אֱקוֹלָה פִּקֵּט, and in L and P with the verb *'aqūlu* immediately following the particle אַנְמָא.

#### 4. Conclusion

The paper has examined translation patterns for Biblical Hebrew nominal and verbal clauses in the Arabic translation of Saadya Gaon according to several versions of this translation. The versions generally reflect similar patterns, but occasionally provide meaningful differences. As to the contribution of this study for the syntax of Biblical Hebrew and the Arabic of Saadya Gaon, the following has been observed. First, the translation patterns of both nominal and verbal clauses show great variety of options. Second, the translation patterns present syntactical structures that are typical of Saadya Gaon's Post-Classical Arabic and deviate in some ways from Classical Arabic. Third, many translation patterns frequently provide a clear marking of subjects and predicates in the nominal clause and logical subjects and predicates in the verbal clause, thus providing an important insight into the structure of the Biblical Hebrew patterns.

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# Excavations at Medieval Kinet, Turkey: A Preliminary Report

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## Abstract

*Excavations in medieval levels at Kinet, Turkey, are uncovering remains of a Crusader era Mediterranean port town that dates from the late 12th to the early 14th century. The settlement's livelihood derived from industry (iron and glazed ceramic production), agriculture, and animal husbandry as well as regional and international trade. Finds at the site indicate maritime trade around the Mediterranean as far as Italy, as well as overland trade with Syria. Medieval Kinet thrived despite being burned three times. It lay near the southern border of the Kingdom of Armenian Cilicia, astride the major trade, communication, and invasion route between Cilicia and Syria. The medieval site was orthogonally planned, possibly by the Knights Templar.\**

The site of Kinet is located on the shore of the Mediterranean Sea very close to its northeasternmost corner, in the Hatay province of Turkey (Figs 1; 2). Kinet can be identified with the ancient Issos. Ongoing salvage excavations, initiated by Kinet Project Director Prof. Marie-Henriette Gates of Bilkent University in 1992, are revealing a rich and complex settlement history beginning in the ceramic Neolithic and continuing through to the late Hellenistic period.<sup>1</sup>

The final phase of occupation at Kinet was during the medieval period. For approximately one century, from about the late 12<sup>th</sup> to the early 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, the site was reinvested. This final occupation phase at Kinet is the subject of this article.

The physical setting of Kinet was best described by two Austrian travelers to the region in the early 1890s:

‘Die Ebene von Issos...wird durch einen von Nordost gegen Südwest vorgeschobenen Ausläufer des letzteren in zwei buchtenartig gestaltete Theile

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<sup>1</sup> For Kinet excavations see Gates 1999 and Gates 2000. For identifying Kinet with Issos, see Hellenkemper 1984.

geschieden. Der westlich, grössere, ist wasserarm und wenig besiedelt, sein theilweise felsiger nordwestlicher Rand bedeckt von dichtem Gestrüpp wilder Oelbäume...Der östliche ist von zahlreichen Bächen durchzogen, welche aus den Schluchten des Giaur-Dagh (Amanus) zur Zeit der Schneeschmelze in tief eingeschnittenen Rinnsalen beträchtliche Wassermengen herabführen und auch im Sommer nicht völlig vertrocknen. Der bedeutendste von ihnen ist der Deli-Tschai, der die Ebene in ihrem breitesten Theile durchschneidet, sicherlich der alte Pinaros. In ihrem Wasserreichtum gewährt diese östliche Hälfte der Ebene mit ihren zahlreichen wohlhabenden Dörfern und ausgedehnten Gärten auf dem Hintergrunde der emporsteigenden zackigen Amanuskette ein liebliches Bild.<sup>2</sup>

Lying as it does between mountains and sea at the edge of a well-watered if fairly narrow coastal plain, the site is well situated to exploit the resources of the sea, plain, and mountains. In addition, it sits astride the major trade and invasion route between Anatolia and Syria via the Cilician Plain to the north and the Belen Pass and Antioch to the south. Travellers like Wilbrand von Oldenburg in 1212 and Marco Polo in 1270 remarked on the fertile soil and plentiful game of the region.<sup>3</sup>

These advantages, and the idyllic picture painted by Heberdey and Wilhelm, can be tempered by accounts of the intense heat and malarial coastal swamps that caused the population in the medieval period to flee the coastal plain for the more salubrious climate of the nearby mountains during the summer months.<sup>4</sup> Earthquakes also periodically wracked the region. For example, the chronicle of Smbat the Constable records one such earthquake that struck the area around Kinet in 1269 CE, reducing villages, monasteries, and castles in the region of the Amanos Mountains to ruins.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Heberdey and Wilhelm 1896, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Marco Polo 1958, p. 46, "It is a land of many villages and towns, amply stocked with the means of life. It also affords good sport with all sorts of wild game, both beast and fowl." Wilbrandi de Oldenburg 1864, p. 174, "Ipsa uero in medio sui est plana et ualde fertilis, multa fouens animalia venationi competentia."

<sup>4</sup> So the anonymous continuator of the history of William of Tyre was to write of the travails of the German army in attempting to cross the Cilician plain in the summer of 1190: "Car les pleins d'Ermenie en esté sont chaus et enfermés. La montaigne est fresche et saine. Dont les habitans de la terre ont lor maners en la montaigne, et demorent illueques por la cholor dou tens, des l'entree de juing jusques a la metié de septembre, et d'ilueques en avant descendent au plain por ce que la terre est tempree et meins enfermée." Morgan 1982, p. 99. See also Eickhoff 1977, pp. 164-165. Marco Polo 1958, p. 46, attributes the character defects of the Armenians to the heat of Cilicia: "The climate, however, is far from healthy; it is, in fact, extremely enervating. Hence, the nobility of the country, who used to be men of valor and stalwart soldiers, are now craven and mean-spirited and excel in nothing except drinking."

<sup>5</sup> Smbat the Constable 1980, p. 122.

## Historical Geography

Kinet can be identified with the port known to Muslim geographers and historians as *Ḥiṣn al-Tīnāt* (Castle of the Figs), or later simply as *al-Tīnāt*. These sources mention it as a port between Payas (*Bayyās*) and Misis (*al-Maṣṣīṣa*) exporting pine from the nearby Amanos Mountains (*Jabal al-Lukkām*). This identification was first proposed by Claude Cahen over 60 years ago. Based on his reading of medieval documents, Cahen also paired Kinet with the Canamella of Crusader sources. The latter identification has recently been disputed, and the port of Payas, to the south of Kinet, has been proposed as an alternative.<sup>6</sup>

Hellenkemper and Hild's arguments for identifying the Canamella or Calamella of Latin/Frankish sources with Payas are based on two points. The first concerns the current appearance of Kinet, the second is based on the evidence of medieval portolans. Assuming that Kinet's present topography is more or less identical to its medieval one, the authors find it lacking for a port prominently featured in portolans. The harbour at Payas to the south is larger and more evident. Since later portolans refer to the current Gulf of Iskenderun as the Gulf of Canamella, the authors seek a port more worthy of that distinction. In addition, later portolans depict a tower at Canamella; something that the authors note is not present at Kinet. Despite the fact that the two fortifications currently found at Payas are 16th century Ottoman constructions, they find it more likely that Canamella be identified with Payas by reason of fortification, too.

The itinerary of the German monk and government agent Wilbrand von Oldenburg, who traversed Armenian Cilicia in 1212 CE, twice mentions the site of Canamella. The first is as he traveled north along the coast from Iskenderun/Alexandretta to Misis/Mamistra. After staying in Portella, the fortified port at the classical Gates of Syria, he passed through the castle of Canamella before reaching Misis. Later in his travels, he returned to the region from the Armenian Cilician capital of Sis, via the German-held castle of Amuda/al-'Amudayn. From Canamella he then went to Thila/Toprak-kale and on to Tarsus.<sup>7</sup> While there are inconsistencies in this itinerary, it does place the site of Canamella within an orbit of sites north of Payas. There is no *geographical* reason to return to Canamella, which lies south of

<sup>6</sup> For the identification of Kinet with Canamella and *Hisn al-Tinat*, see Cahen 1940, p. 150. Hellenkemper 1984 agrees with Cahen on the matter of *Hisn al-Tinat*, but proposes Payas, a port south of Kinet, as Canamella; see Hellenkemper and Hild 1986, pp. 104-108, and Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, p. 223.

<sup>7</sup> Wilbrandi de Oldenburg 1864, p. 175; 179-80.

Thila/Toprakkale, from Amuda, which lies to its north. But the later 1266 CE sack of both sites suggests that they were the two principal sites of the Crusader military orders in the region — ample reason for Willibrand to visit them both in sequence before heading north and west on his way to Cyprus. It seems unlikely that he would travel further south to Payas, which is not mentioned in Latin or Islamic sources as belonging to any of the Crusader military orders.

A totally unambiguous identification of Kinet with Canamella that reconciles all the pieces of the surviving historical and archaeological record is impossible, although the evidence mustered by Hellenkemper and Hild can be disputed. The physical appearance of the site in the medieval period was without a doubt very different from that of today, as geomorphological fieldwork by Timothy Beach is demonstrating. However, if the Canamella of later medieval portolans is to be identified with present-day Kinet, then one would expect to find evidence of later 14th and 15th century occupations at the site, since portolans record it as a port then. This evidence has not been recovered to date.

Payas has never been the subject of archaeological survey or excavation, so it is also hard to argue in its favor. Since Canamella/Calamella is a name used exclusively by Crusader era and later Italian sources, it is also entirely possible that the name migrated from Kinet to Payas when Kinet was abandoned. Payas was heavily fortified by the Ottomans in the late 16th century at a time when this region was a focus of activity due to the Ottoman conquest of the Venetians in Cyprus. The investment in Payas at that time demonstrates that it was the major port on the coast between Iskenderun and Ayas.

Further evidence cited by Hild and Hellenkemper is a grant of the revenues of the port of 'Calamella' by the King of Armenian Cilicia in 1214 to the Crusader military order of the Hospitalers for two years. Because the coastal region to the west of the Amanos Mountains traditionally held strongholds of the other main Crusader military order, the Templars, Jonathan Riley-Smith, like Cahen before him, hypothesized that the port may have been a Templar one that reverted to the Templars subsequent to the limited granting of its revenues to the Hospitalers.<sup>8</sup> Citing the same Hospitaller document as Riley-Smith, Hild and Hellenkemper explain away the mention in it of Payas as independent of Calamella by hypothesizing that Payas was a name used for the hinterland of the port.

<sup>8</sup> Riley-Smith 1978, p. 107. The document of deed is reproduced in Delaville Le Roulx 1897, vol. 2, pp. 165-166.

The present state of knowledge makes Kinet, and not Payas, the likelier candidate for the Canamella of the period of the Crusades, the late 11th through to the late 13th centuries. As detailed below, the site seems to have been fortified; the architectural layout is consistent with fortified garrison forts elsewhere in the region. It was also laid out at one time and in a regular fashion, something consistent with intervention by an outside military organization like the Templars. The archaeological record does not contradict the historical record; the site was burned three times during its medieval occupation. There is one explicit textual mention of the sack in 1266 of a castle name al-Ṭīnāt belonging to the Templars (for which see below), but Mamluk armies and raiding parties passed through this region in 1275 and several other times into the 14th century and could well have attacked the site again.

Perhaps the strongest argument against the identification of Payas with Canamella is the silence of the Arabic sources. The port of Canamella is mentioned in Italian portolans as early as the middle of the 13th century as the only port between Ayas and Iskenderun.<sup>9</sup> We have seen it singled out as the only port mentioned in the 1214 grant from the King of Armenia to the Hospitalers. If Canamella were indeed Payas, then one would expect the Arabic chronicles of the 13th century to mention Payas in their accounts of the Mamluk army invasions of the region, since Bayyās remains the Arabic name for that town, whatever its Latin name. This is not the case. At this time, the only town in the region that is mentioned is al-Ṭīnāt. We have seen the port of Canamella directly associated with the export of timber in both Latin and Arabic sources. The same 13th century Muslim geographers, Ibn Shaddād and Yāqūt, that associate al-Ṭīnāt with the timber trade do not mention that same trade at all with regard to Payas.

### *The Early Islamic Settlement*

Another incongruence between the written and archaeological records concerns the earlier medieval history of the site. As stated above, Arabic language geographers beginning in the ninth century CE and continuing until the 13th century CE identify Ḥiṣn al-Ṭīnāt as a port exporting pine. In fact, the timber trade is the sole remarkable aspect of this port carried in these accounts.<sup>10</sup> The vehicle for the timber trade must have been the Deli

<sup>9</sup> Motzo 1947, p. 60.

<sup>10</sup> See Le Strange 1965, p. 455 and Cornu 1985, p. 13 for summaries of reports in the geographers Ibn Khurdadbeh, Ibn Ḥawqal, al-Istakhrī, and others. Yāqūt n.d., vol. 2, p. 68, is the last of these, and he, too notes the export of timber by sea (to Egypt) as the activity of the port town (furḍa) of what he refers to simply as “Ṭīnāt.” The historian and geographer Ibn Shaddād 1984, p. 99, writing in the mid- to late 13th century, also defines “al-Ṭīnāt” this way.

Çayı, the river mentioned by Heberdey and Wilhelm. It originates in the nearby Amanos Mountains and currently debouches into the Mediterranean Sea some 2.7 kilometres south of the site. Timber cut in the heavily wooded Amanos Mountains would have been floated down the Deli Çayı and loaded onto ships bound for use in the maritime industry in the timber-starved eastern Mediterranean.

Given the written record, one would expect to find archaeological remains from the Abbasid through to the Crusader periods at Kinet. Be that as it may, to date, excavation and survey around the site have not recovered any evidence of settlement on the mound or surrounding terraces between the fourth century BCE and the late 12th century CE. This incongruence between the archaeological and historical record can likely be explained by examining the geomorphology of the region, especially of the Deli Çayı.<sup>11</sup> At one point in its history, this river ran by the site of Kinet. A survey by a team headed by Timothy Beach is searching for evidence of an earlier medieval settlement closer to its current location several kilometres to the south. Current rampant commercial and industrial development of the coast in this region, combined with the rapid alluviation of the coastal plain in the historical era, renders this task difficult.

The site of al-Tīnāt is mentioned as a halting place for Frederick of Swabia, son of the recently perished Holy Roman Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, and his Templar escort, in 1190 CE. The Muslim historian Abū Shāma mentions that the site was at that time part of the territory of Armenian King Leon.<sup>12</sup> The site is not mentioned again as al-Tīnāt until more than seven decades later, when it is again associated with the Templars. At that time, in the year 1266, two years before the fall of Antioch, the historian Ibn Furāt records an attack by the Mamluk armies of Sultan Baybars against the territories of the King of Armenian Cilicia in retaliation for an Armenian incursion into northern Syria. The destruction of the Templar fortress (qal'a) of al-Tīnāt/al-Tīna is recorded along with the burning and destruction of other fortresses and towns belonging to the Templars.<sup>13</sup>

The medieval settlement at Kinet that has been recovered so far is congruent with the historical record. It is located appropriately to have served as a stopping place for a monarch and army eager to travel the fastest route

<sup>11</sup> Earlier geomorphological survey of the region was undertaken by F. Sancar Ozaner, for example, see Ozaner 1994, pp. 513–527.

<sup>12</sup> Abū Shāma 1898, p. 460, “al-Tīnāt min bilād Lāfūn...” See also Eickhoff 1977, p. 165. It is called a “mawḍū’,” a place, not a fort, or port.

<sup>13</sup> Ibn Furāt 1971, pp. 99; 126. Riley-Smith 1978, p. 107, emphasizes that Muslim historians often confused the Crusader military orders, but the historical preponderance of Templars in this marchland makes it likely that the site belonged to the Templars at that time.

to Antioch, hugging the coast south of Misis. The site was burned several times. It is located in the line of invasion for the Mamluk raid of 1266 and its layout is not inconsistent with a Templar garrison. However, there is no record of the pre-13th century port that is mentioned in sources dating from as early as the ninth century.

### *Economy and Trade*

Other accounts of Mamluk raids on the territories of the Kingdom of Armenian Cilicia record instances of destruction, killing, burning of supplies, and enslavement similar to what befell al-Tīnāt in 1266. They also record that, in addition to slaves, the principal source of booty was live-stock.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, whether it was obtained as booty, tribute, or purchase, a supply of horses, mules, and livestock from Armenian Cilicia was crucial to the Mamluks.

Italian sources mention the export of a locally manufactured camlet, a kind of woolen cloth, that would have been a natural product of a region with large flocks of sheep and goats. To what extent the economy of the Armenian Cilician Kingdom integrated the flocks of Turkmen nomads who began infiltrating the Taurus Mountains and the Cilician plain from Anatolia in the early 13th century (and earlier from Syria) is unknown, but the increasing mention of Turkmen, and even Mongol, tribes in Cilicia must have meant that even more flocks were present in the region. In addition to wool and woolen cloth, leather and hides were also exported from the ports of Armenian Cilicia.<sup>15</sup>

Other exports of local industry or agriculture included grain, cotton, silk, iron, and timber. The treaty of 1285 between Mamluk Sultan Qalawun and King Leon III of Armenian Cilicia underscores the importance of manufactured iron products from Cilician Armenia for the Mamluks. In addition to cloth, horses, mules, and silver bullion, the treaty calls for the Armenians to provide the Mamluks with an annual shipment of 'iron plates [*i.e.* horseshoes] with their nails, 10 000 plates to be transported when it shall be ordered...' Both the importance of, as well as the connection between, the iron industry and commerce in horses, mules, and donkeys in Cilician Armenia is underscored by this citation.

<sup>14</sup> Ibn al-Dawādārī 1971, vol. 8, p. 177, in recounting a raid in the year 673 H./1274-75 CE, records the booty in cattle, riding animals (horses, mules, donkeys), slave girls, and mamluks; see also Ibn Shaddād 1983, p. 107 (sheep/goats, cattle, and slaves), and Mufaḍḍal 1973, p. 11 (cattle and water buffalo).

<sup>15</sup> See Labib 1965, pp. 66-67; Heyd 1936, vol. 2, pp. 83-84, for Genoese and Venetian exports from Cilicia. The Venetians set up factories for the manufacture of camlet. Al-Maqrīzī 1936, p. 618, mentions the Egyptian armies in 1275 encountering many "Tatar" (ie Mongol) women, children, and youths in the area near Kinet, undoubtedly part of a tribe.

Arabic language sources cited above refer to the export of timber from Ḥiṣn al-Tīnāt. This aspect of the economy of the region is also mentioned in the 1214 CE grant by Armenian Cilician King Levon to the Hospitalers of the revenues of the region of the coastal plain and Amanos from Payas in the south to Nigrinium (Classical Epiphaneia, Arab Kanīsat al-Sawdā') in the north. This grant refers to the produce of woodlands as the only specific revenue generating export, as it refers to the port of Calamella separately. Genoese commercial documents from the 1270s, more than half a century later, indicate that the trade in timber from this region to Egypt was booming. Some of these documents mention Ayas and Canamella as well as the Templars.<sup>16</sup>

This corner of the Mediterranean is best known at this time in medieval history not for the humble local products enumerated above: livestock, wool, hides, iron, and timber. Rather, it is known for long distance trade in luxury items. With the entry of the Mongols into the Near East, their alliance with the Armenians beginning in 1244 CE, and the progressive loss of Crusader ports further south to the Mamluks, in the later 13th century and early 14th century Armenian Cilicia, especially the port of Ayas/Lajazzo, became the focus for the lucrative international luxury trade in spices, silks, gemstones, and other items of high value. The Venetian merchant Marco Polo's famous journey to China originated in nearby Ayas in 1270 CE.<sup>17</sup> Kinet's rise and fall can be viewed in the nexus of military and economic forces converging on this region at this time.

## Architecture

The organization of the medieval settlement at Kinet is consistent with the idea of a layout by a single authority, be it the Armenian, Cilician Templar, or other Latin authority (such as the Principality of Antioch). All medieval structures recovered on the eastern terrace (**Fig. 3**) are oriented at a consistent NE–SW orientation. On top of the mound, all structures are

<sup>16</sup> For a translation of the Armenian-Mamluk treaty into English, see Holt 1995, p. 94; 99–100. For the beginning of the Armenian-Mongol alliance see Canard 1967, p. 217 ff. The relevant section of the grant of revenue by King Levon to the Hospitalers (see note 9 above) runs as follows (emphasis added): “I have pledged as well the revenues the port of Calamella and all of Guigher, and the usufruct (tablagium) and all other rights of land and sea, as much to the *produce of woodland* as to other salable goods, that may be sold or bought throughout Guigher according to the custom of that place, along with ingress and egress and all things belonging legally to it.” For Genoese documents relating to the timber trade in this region, see Jacoby (in press), notes 106–107. I am grateful to Prof. Jacoby for providing me with a pre-publication copy of his article.

<sup>17</sup> For the long-distance luxury trade see Heyd 1936, pp. 74–75; Ashtor 1983, pp. 43–44; 54–57.



oriented parallel or at right angles to the edge of the mound (Figs 4; 5). Here, long walls run parallel to each other towards the centre of the mound, with subsidiary walls built against them. This spoke-like arrangement of rooms and contiguous structures around the edge of the mound is paralleled by the layout of similar mound-top fortified settlements dating from the 12th through to the early 14th centuries CE found in the Euphrates valley to the north and east of Cilicia. These settlements were founded by Byzantines, Muslims, and Crusaders.<sup>18</sup> The medieval settlement at Kinet was laid out directly atop the remains of the Hellenistic period.

Given the strong military association of the site in historical sources, it is evident that it had a fortification wall, likely around the top of the mound, but also possibly elsewhere. Excavations on three sides of the mound have uncovered no wall thick enough to merit being considered a defensive wall, although they have uncovered the remains of a substantial fourth century BCE fortification wall around the mound. This wall, like the rest of the building on the site, was of mudbrick on a foundation of field stones and river cobbles. **Figure 6** shows the relationship between the foundations of the fourth century BCE wall and the medieval structures, which terminate in a wall that runs parallel to the edge of the mound but inside the earlier fortification. This wall, too small to be considered a fortification wall, but considerably thicker than the walls of other medieval domestic structures, can be seen as intermediating between the medieval settlement and the remains of the earlier fortification wall.

The absence of a medieval fortification wall can be explained by two main factors. The first is the tendency of fortifications near the edge of artificial city mounds to slide down the slope due to the lack of bedrock on which to anchor them. This tendency would have been encouraged by the earthquakes alluded to above. The second factor could have been the remains of the earlier fortification wall, whose mudbrick superstructure must still have been partially standing when the site was reoccupied, and could have been rebuilt and reused.

Like the settlements in the Euphrates valley, and unlike the many medieval standing hill and mountain-top fortifications in Cilicia, this settlement was built using mudbrick as the main building material, not rubble masonry. All walls were built of mudbrick on a stone socle. This socle was usually built of field stones or river cobbles, although squared stones from earlier habitation levels were also employed, usually as corner stones. Socles were several courses high, with stones laid in a rough herringbone bond.

<sup>18</sup> See Redford 1998, pp. 68–73 for a discussion of plans from Gritille, Lidar, and Taşkun Kale.

Smaller stones and potsherds were used to fill holes between larger stones in the middle of the wall.

Most floors were earthen, although compacted lime floors were encountered in two instances, one interior, one in a shaded exterior area; external surfaces were also mainly earthen. Adjacent to structures were semi-enclosed activity areas roofed by twigs, branches, and clay and supported by posts. Postholes were either lined with smaller stones, underlain by a large, flat stone, or both. Unroofed areas between structures were sometimes scattered with pebbles, sometimes paved, and sometimes left untreated. Pavement consisted of a compacted layer of pebbles, small stones, potsherds, and bone. The latter two materials seem not to be accidental later inclusions, but part of the original laying of the pavement or street itself. **Figure 5** depicts the first occupation phase in Operation G2, in which a laid pavement of tile, bone, and pebbles was separated from other activity areas by walls, curb walls, and pits. A large posthole visible near the intersection of the two walls in the centre of the photograph indicates that at least part of this area was shaded.

The recovery of hundreds of nails from all levels of medieval Kinet may also indicate that timber was used in domestic constructions more widely than it is in surviving traditional mudbrick architecture.

### Settlement Sequence

The dating of medieval levels is based on ceramic comparanda, mainly from the Aegean, and coins. The two largest categories of coins found at Kinet are Antiochene helmet deniers and the copper coins of the Kingdom of Cilician Armenia. The latter are more easily dateable, and provide confirmation for the late 12th to early 14th century proposed for the occupation sequence at medieval Kinet. Copper coins found at Kinet range in date from Levon I (reg. 1198-1219) and Levon II (1170-1289) through Hetoum I (1226-1270) and Hetoum II (1289-1305), Smpad (1296-1298), to Levon III (1301-1307), with the largest number of coins coming from the reign of Hetoum I.<sup>19</sup>

Medieval habitation at Kinet can be divided into four primary habitation phases (numbered from earliest to latest), with the first and second separated by a period of abandonment. The site was initially settled, as mentioned above, in an organized and methodical way. The regular orientation

<sup>19</sup> Identification of these coins was kindly provided by Y.T. Nercessian of the Armenian Numismatic Society.

of structures on the east terrace visible in **Fig. 3**, the third phase, follows that of the first phase. These east terrace structures seem to function at first as at last, as residences, with interior spaces divided by thin curb or divider walls.

In **Fig. 5** can be seen long walls that ran towards the centre of the mound perpendicular to its edge, terminating after several metres. The centre of the mound seems to have been open with at least one freestanding building in it (found in Operation N). The pebble pavement visible in the foreground of **Fig. 5** was used for iron smelting; hundreds of congealed droplets of molten iron and slag were found affixed here. Slag was also found in significant quantities in pits in the northeastern quadrant of the operation, therefore ironworking can be established as one economic activity of this earliest phase. Although it seems not to have taken place on a massive scale in this or other phases, iron working remains a feature of all phases of medieval Kinet.

The initial implantation seems not to have lasted for a very long time, because there was little accumulation of debris. The scarcity of finds in this first phase can also be attributed to its abandonment, and not its destruction. Nowhere is there evidence of violent upheaval such as that found at the end of the other three major phases. A layer of melted mudbrick and other settlement detritus separates this phase from Phase 2.

The site was reinvested in Phase 2 and a pavement was laid in the middle of the mound. **Figure 4** represents this phase on the northern edge of the mound. Here a thicker wall was laid parallel to the edge of the mound, and a series of small casemate rooms were laid out within it. To the south of these small rooms lay semi-open activity areas with post holes and pits and hearths. This area, as in Phase 1, was subdivided by long walls running north–south towards the centre of the mound, but stopping well before they got there.

Phase 2 ended in conflagration and abandonment. Most of the areas excavated were covered by a thick deposit of building stones and melted mudbrick mixed with ash. There is evidence for selective rehabilitation, but most of the site seems to have been abandoned for several years if not longer.

Phase 3 begins with a total reoccupation of the site. Another pavement is laid in the middle of the mound and walls surviving from earlier phases are reused. **Figure 3** represents this phase on the east terrace, where outside surfaces were sprinkled with pebbles. During this phase, the production of glazed Port Saint Symeon-type sgraffito ceramics began at the site. At this time pits associated with this level furnished unglazed sgraffito sherds and kiln furniture (**Fig. 8**) and many examples of this ware.

Phase 3 also ended in burning and abandonment. Phase 4, the last architectural phase, is the only one characterized by building that is less careful in construction and orientation. It seems to have consisted of a rudier rebuilding and adaptation of the structures of Phase 3. Resettling also seems to have been selective. The eastern edge of the mound was turned into a cemetery, furnishing the skeletons that are the subject of Ms Parr's contribution (see *Physical Anthropology*, below). Despite the diminished character of the settlement, ceramic production seems to have continued. This last settlement phase, too, ended in burning and abandonment, with whole vessels left in houses. Most of the complete vessels found date from this phase.

### Ceramics

The initial phases of medieval habitation at Kinet are characterized by glazed pottery bowls usually attributed to Cyprus and/or the Aegean in the second half of the 12th or early 13th century (*e.g.* **Figs 9–13**).<sup>20</sup> Although these bowls are not exclusive to the earlier levels at the site, they are found in higher numbers there. Pieces of a uniquely decorated cylindrical vessel (**Fig. 29**), also perhaps connecting this first settlement to the Aegean, were also recovered from the first settlement phase. This vessel had a small ledge affixed to its mid section and on the ledge perched small moulded helmeted warriors brandishing swords and holding shields. Although this decoration is not paralleled elsewhere, the shape is most closely reproduced by a cylindrical vessel called a cruet recovered from Frankish levels at Corinth.<sup>21</sup>

As the 13th century wore on, Kinet seems to have become integrated more tightly into the international maritime trading networks of the Italian republics, notably Genoa and Venice. The last two occupation levels (Phases 3 and 4) contain examples of proto-Majolica from Sicily or southern Italy (**Fig. 27:2**), fine underglaze painted fritwares from Syria (**Figure 26**), so-called Zeuxippus ware, sgraffito ceramics from Tripoli, Lebanon (**Fig. 23:1**)<sup>22</sup>, and Venetian bowls (**Figs 22:2; 25:1**)<sup>23</sup>. These same levels also contain evidence for the on-site production of the polychrome sgraffito earthenware traditionally known as Port Saint Symeon ceramics (**Figs 7;**

<sup>20</sup> Compare Figures I and J with examples in Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1999, pp. 147–149 which were recovered from a shipwreck off the island of Kastellorizo between Cyprus and Rhodes and near the Anatolian mainland.

<sup>21</sup> Compare Williams and Zervos 1995, pl. 8:27.

<sup>22</sup> Compare with Salamé-Sarkis 1980 group A.I.5; p. 171 ff.

<sup>23</sup> Compare with Venetian bowls found in Frankish levels at Corinth published in Williams and Zervos 1992, p. 151 ff.

14; 15:2–3; 16–21). Although not all of these were produced on site, some definitely were.

This most popular of 13th century ceramics, so named because it was first found at Port Saint Symeon/Al-Mina, the riverine port of Antioch, has been found at sites all around the Mediterranean.<sup>24</sup> It seems to have been a major cargo of the Italian-borne maritime commercial boom of the 13th century. Kinet's own production can be seen as one of many in the region, most located at port towns and mostly geared towards the export market. In addition to production of PSS ceramics at Antioch, Port Saint Symeon, and Kinet, in recent years evidence for production at Epiphaneia/Kanisat al-Sawda' and Misis has been adduced.<sup>25</sup>

Even if most of the glazed sgraffito bowls found on the site were intended for export, some may have been produced for local consumption. One example of a bowl that was used at Kinet during its last phase of occupation is Fig. 24. Its scratched six pointed stars mark it as the possession of someone who also owned other vessels similarly marked (see Fig. 36), perhaps someone similar to the mounted knight depicted on the bowl.

Unglazed pottery at Kinet is similar to that found at other sites in northern Syria and the Jazira in shape, fabric, and decoration. It is markedly different from that of the main Frankish port, Acre.<sup>26</sup> Some of the cooking pots were found with remains of egg, cuttlefish bone, and/or pig bones. Some jugs and pitchers were painted with streaks of red and some were white or cream slipped. Very few amphorae (Fig. 37:57) have been recovered, and those came from the last two habitation levels. Brittle cooking pot fabric was usually used for so-called frying pans and for small jug (Fig. 30: 1–2) but also occasionally for jugs (Figs 30:3; 37:1). It seems to have been glazed where it was used most, but also episodically.

### Small Finds

As discussed above, iron was worked in all periods of medieval occupation. How many of the hundreds of nails (*e.g.* Fig. 48:1–2) and dozens of arrowheads (Fig. 45) were actually manufactured on site is unknown, but

<sup>24</sup> Lane 1938, p. 45; Pringle 1986, p. 458 describes PSS ceramics as “the” Crusader “pottery par excellence,” presumably due to its wide distribution. He notes its resemblance to Cilician and Cypriot sgraffitos.

<sup>25</sup> Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, p. 358 for evidence from Misis. Prof. Jennifer Tobin has found kiln rods associated with polychrome sgraffito at Epiphaneia; I would like to thank her for sharing this information with me.

<sup>26</sup> Compare with Stern 1997, fig. 5.

the recovery of an iron ingot in its ceramic mould from Phase 3 demonstrates that not only implements were made at Kinet.

Other iron implements can be divided between work, war, and hunting. Some implements have obvious associations with peaceable labor, like sickles (Fig. 46:2) and adzes (Fig. 47:2). Arrowheads can be used for work, hunting or war, of course, as can horseshoes and knives (Fig. 46:1). Figure 47:1, a lance, was found on the burned floor of a casemate room in Phase 3, intimately associating it by shape and context with the fighting surrounding that destruction of the site.

The two double-sided combs in Fig. 44 are higher and lower quality examples. Fig. 44:1, which was recovered from the destruction level attendant to the end of Phase 3, is made of ivory and finely carved with symbols of heraldry and faith, a lion and a cross. Also recovered in small but significant quantities were bone spindle whorls (Fig. 48:3–5), indications of weaving at the site.

The medieval levels from Kinet display oppositions: of active local industry with far-flung international commerce, of agriculture and hunting with warfare and destruction, and of trade *and* warfare between Muslim and Christian. The mixture of Latin silver and Armenian copper coinage used at the site may be emblematic of the mixing of Levantine Christian and Latin on the shores of the eastern Mediterranean. On the one hand, the representations of astrological symbols (Figs 15:1; 19:1; 21), of knights (Figs 9:2; 24; 29), of cupbearers (Fig. 15:2) and of Islamic and Christian heraldic symbols (Figs 14:1; 18:1) on locally produced pottery display the multitude of cultural valences of this society.<sup>27</sup> The unglazed pottery, on the other hand, declares allegiance to the wider material culture of the region, one shared by Muslim and Christian alike. Likewise, the layout and architectural materials used at Kinet also pertain to greater regional traditions.

Accounts of this period tend to emphasize its international aspect, with Marco Polo standing as the symbol of the age. While Kinet bears ample witness to the Italian maritime trade of the day, it is its local industries that seem to have occupied the inhabitants the most. There is no direct evidence of the timber trade that figures prominently in written sources, but iron working, weaving, pottery production, agriculture, and animal husbandry seem to have thrived during this time. Indeed, we can think of iron products and glazed ceramics as export items from Kinet's port.

The resultant picture is one of dynamic local industries, and with them a vibrant, eclectic culture, one that mediated between inland and maritime,

<sup>27</sup> This argument is developed in Redford 2001.

Islamic and Christian powers, but one that produced and consumed as much as it transferred and was as concerned with commerce as much as it was with warfare.

### **Faunal Remains**

Not all the bones from the many medieval period trenches excavated at Kinet have been examined because the zooarchaeologist is on site for only half the season and has been active only since 1996. Thus far a selection of bones from Operations B (18 bones from 1992), E (80 bones from 1993), K2 (733 bones from 1997), K3 (542 bones and an almost complete cow skeleton from 1997), G2 (1084 bones from 1998), G3 (612 bones from 1998), G4 (317 bones from 1999), N (3166 bones from 1999), and P (331 bones from 1999), (6883 bones in total) has been analysed.

### *Methodology*

The bones were collected by hand and by screening through a 5mm x 5mm wire mesh for secure loci and lots in certain areas, such as floors and pits. Bones and bone fragments from the heavy residue of flotation samples have yet to be examined. All bones were examined and recorded, and the data were processed using EXCEL. Information recorded for each bone included: taxon, element, portion, side, age where possible (based on epiphysial fusion or tooth wear), butchery marks, work, gnawing, burn marks, erosion/weathering, gender (when possible), and breakage patterns. Measurements were also taken when available. Fragments (measuring over 1.5cm at least) of limb bones, ribs, and vertebrae that were identified by element, mammal size, and were then counted. Mandibles and maxillae with teeth embedded were counted as one bone, although noted as being a group consisting of bones and teeth. Once fragments of headbones, vertebrae, limb bone shafts and ribs had been counted, they were discarded due to the absence of storage space.

The ageing systems for bones and teeth that were used were those developed by I. Silver, A. Grant, and S. Payne<sup>28</sup>. Differences between sheep and goats are difficult to discern, and for non-European examples it has been found that the criteria outlined by J. Boessneck<sup>29</sup> do not always apply. However, for certain elements, differences between the two taxa (*e.g.* radius-ulna, M3, d4, proximal humerus) could be established based on work by

<sup>28</sup> Grant 1982; Payne 1973; Silver 1963.

<sup>29</sup> Boessneck 1963.

Payne<sup>30</sup>, Boessneck, R. Meadows (personal communication), and studies conducted by the author at Kinet, but this is not the case for all elements. For the purposes of this report the two taxa are counted together, unless there is a markedly different balance between the two groups.

### Results

The most common animal represented, overall, is the pig (*Sus scrofa*). In almost all the trenches, regardless of their location on the mound, pig bones dominated the finds. Of course, a pig skeleton contains more bones than that of bovids, and the bones are, on the whole, more robust and therefore survive well; despite this, the number of pig bones far outweighs the number of bones from other animals (Table 1).

Table 1: Comparison between *Bos*, *Ovis/Capra* and *Sus* bones

Tax/Op.	B-92	E-93	K2-97	K3-97	G2-98	G3-98	G4-99	N-99	P-99
<i>Bos</i>	2	7	x	x	171	82	15	427	7
<i>Ovis/Capra</i>	6	11	x	x	194	90	23	358	45
<i>Sus</i>	11	x	x	230	144	22	550	27	

x indicates that, due to computing problems, precise numbers from the 1997 season were not available to the author at the time of writing.

The majority of the pig remains belonged to young animals, generally under three years of age, as was attested by long bone fusion and tooth eruption. In some instances the pigs were very young and one example of almost an entire animal was found inside a cooking pot — perhaps a suckling pig?

The sheep/goat (*Ovis/Capra*) remains come from mature animals. Epiphysial fusion of bones and tooth wear suggest that they died after reaching the age of four years, at least. This would suggest that they were not being exploited as a meat source, but rather for their wool/hair and their milk.

In addition to cows (*Bos taurus*), what has tentatively been identified as water buffalo also appear to a small degree in the medieval levels, especially in Operation N. However, the identification of these bones is not yet confirmed. The bones are morphologically similar to bovid bones, but are much larger in almost all their measurements when compared to bones

<sup>30</sup> Payne 1985.



clearly belonging to the largest bovid, *B. taurus*, from this and previous periods. The majority of the cow and water buffalo remains comes from mature/old animals. Curiously, the bones of the sheep and goat also appear to be a bit larger and more robust from this period. However, nothing can be concluded regarding this peculiarity until a thorough analysis of the different measurements of bones from other periods is made.

The piscian finds from the medieval levels suggest that there was little exploitation of either river or sea as possible food sources. Throughout the medieval trenches there were very few fish remains, though occasional riverine (catfish in Ops. G3 and G4) and marine (*Sparus* and Grouper, mainly in Op. N) bones do appear. Cuttlefish (25) remains were recovered from Op. G2. Very few seashells are recovered from the medieval levels.

These trenches also have few avian remains, with only a few galliforms (six in total from all medieval levels) being identified. Other avian remains (21 in all) are awaiting identification. An as yet unidentified egg fragments, possibly from a galliform, were also found.

Equid remains, both horse and donkey, have been found at the site. There are more donkey bones than horse bones. One donkey metapodial recovered from Op. K2 showed knife cuts, indicative of butchery. Donkeys (and horses) have been consumed in many cultures throughout history. From a preliminary analysis of the findings, it appears that Ops. K2 and K3, on the lower level of the mound's slope, had more equid remains than the upper levels. This could be due to the fact that a more level area is better for stabling horses, or, of course, simply be due to the fact that waste material is thrown down.

A significant amount of hunting was also carried out in the medieval period, as illustrated by the faunal finds. Remains of gazelle (*Gazella sp.*), fallow deer (*Dama dama*), roe deer (*Capreolus capreolus*), red deer (*Cervus elaphus*), and wild boar have been recovered from the site, including cervid horns. Perhaps the horns were used for decoration or as raw material for tool making, although no evidence for the latter has thus far been found amongst the excavated artefacts. At Kinet, hunting does not appear to be as common in the Hellenistic and Iron Ages as it was in the medieval period or the Bronze Age.

The faunal remains from the medieval period suggest that there was large scale breeding of pigs for domestic consumption, presumably by a Christian, or a predominantly Christian, population. Pigs reproduce easily and require a minimum of care. Their food could have been provided by foraging: quite possibly these animals were allowed to run loose and were used as garbage control in the medieval settlement. The lack of galliforms in the

archaeological record is interesting. Perhaps the absence of the chicken as a convenient 'food packet' contributed to the breeding of pigs? Sheep and goat were also bred during this time, although to a lesser extent. The age of death of the ovicaprids would suggest that the animals were used for dairy or textile production, rather than a meat source. Cattle might also have been a food source, but not a common one. They appear to be primarily used for their milk. Certainly the almost complete cow found in Op. K3 in 1997 was a female. It is quite possible that cattle as well as buffalo were also used as draft animals.

### Physical Anthropology

Forty-three skeletons have been excavated during the past seven years at Kinet Höyük, 39 of these at a single medieval cemetery. Their physical anthropological analysis was undertaken during the 2000 study season.

#### *Bone Preservation*

The sample (n=39) contained skeletons from all age groups and both sexes although analysis was hampered due to the poor preservation of most of the remains. Determination of skeletal preservation is important to enable comparison to other sites. Two populations may number the same, but with grossly different preservation, their comparison is unfounded. The ability to determine age and gender, factors that are most accurate when calculated from a select few bones, would be decreased and the results skewed if preservation was limited; evidence of pathology may also be obscured or misinterpreted. However, to the best of the author's knowledge, a consensus for calculating preservation of bone has yet to be reached.<sup>31</sup> In this study, the preservation of each bone was calculated for every individual<sup>32</sup> and an average taken for each bone (Fig. 49). Of particular note was the fact that no single bone had a preservation score greater than 0.499 (right femur, left tibia and left calcaneus) and the pelvis, important for the estimation of both gender and age, had only 25% preservation.

In general, the cranium was surprisingly well preserved, with the parietal bones, frontal bone and mandible surviving in between 0.300 and 0.399

<sup>31</sup> Waldron 1987.

<sup>32</sup> Preservation of each bone was allocated a functional score: 0 = not present; 0.25 = present but very few measurements able to be taken; 0.5 = at least one end present; 0.75 = both ends present; 1.0 = complete or very nearly complete with all measurements able to be taken.

cases. The bones of the facial skeleton and the sphenoids were less well preserved.

Poor preservation of skeletal material was, in part, to be expected due to the superficial inhumation of the material. Being a medieval deposit, the bones were often no more than 30cm below the surface. However, not all medieval sites suffer such an extreme deterioration of their remains.<sup>33</sup>

Analysis of bone preservation performed on three other sites (one medieval — Büyüktepe Höyük; one Early Bronze — İkiztepe, and one mixed — Sos Höyük) using the same methodology as described previously, shows the same trend at all sites, though a far greater percentage of bone was preserved (Fig. 50). This indicates that whatever factors were responsible for the deterioration were merely accelerated at Kinet.

Taphonomic factors affecting preservation of remains have been studied in a forensic context though their findings can be equally applied to archaeological material.<sup>34</sup> Archaeobotanical studies of the site have already concluded that medieval Kinet was subject to heavy rains.<sup>35</sup> Although a damp environment may initially slow bone deterioration, when soft tissue is present, exposed bones will remain for far longer in a dry environment. No evidence of coffins was found, and so the skeletons of the Kinet cemetery would have been subjected to these conditions from the beginning of interment.

Many burials were also found to overlie one another suggesting some disturbance in antiquity. Moreover, the area had been used by local farmers for tillage, highlighting the fact that the protection afforded intramural burials would not have been present at Kinet, an extramural cemetery.

### *Race and Platymeria*

Both Mongoloid and Caucasoid remains were discovered in the cemetery.<sup>36</sup> These were assigned a racial category dependent upon cranial anatomy, the most accurate physical trait. However, other traits are able to contribute further information to race determination. In particular, platymeria has previously been noted in Turkish populations.<sup>37</sup> Platymeria is a measure of the antero-posterior flattening of the proximal femur, the cause of which is still debatable. It is no longer accepted as being linked to squatting (as initially thought), although neither has excessive strain or nu-

<sup>33</sup> Remains at Büyüktepe Höyük (unpublished data).

<sup>34</sup> Haglund and Sorg 1997.

<sup>35</sup> Hynd 1997.

<sup>36</sup> See n. 16.

<sup>37</sup> Brothwell 1981.

trient deficiency in youth been confirmed as a definitive cause.<sup>38</sup> Of the 39 individuals excavated from the cemetery, 13 were adult and 11 of these had at least one femur from which antero-posterior and medio-lateral subtrochanteric measurements could be taken.

Sixty-four per cent of the sample was platymeric (73.684 — 83.871), including all males, and 27% of the sample was eurymeric. The one remaining case scored an index of 100.00 (stenomeric), normally associated with pathology. However, further evidence of pathology was not noted. Unfortunately, further race-related data were not available for these individuals so no definitive link between either Mongoloids or Caucasoids and platymeria could be determined.

The burials at the medieval Kinet Höyük cemetery provided a valuable opportunity for physical anthropological analysis, but one that was hampered by poor preservation of the bones. This was most probably due to a combination of factors including shallow burial of remains resulting in increased disturbances and the damp climate at the time of burial. Minimal preservation limited the use of more conventional indicators of race, but analysis showed a high incidence of platymeria. This, in light of Brothwell's research, indicates that further work into the geographical variability of this trait is warranted.

## Geomorphology

The objective of the geoarchaeological survey has been to analyse all exposures of cutbanks, channels, trenches, and drilling logs in an attempt to understand this landscape's sequence of environmental change. For instance, has the plain gone through periods of filling (aggradation) and down-cutting (degradation); and what is the best evidence for why these phenomena occurred? Clearly, our evidence indicates steady, but episodic, aggradation and extension of the coast into the shallow Gulf of Iskenderun since the Middle Holocene, 5000 to 7000 years ago.

In the early 1990s, Dr F. Sancar Ozaner studied the geomorphology of the alluvial plain at the foot of the Amanus Mountains from field surveys and repeat aerial photographs from 1948 and 1975.<sup>39</sup> From these, we know the approximate pattern and history of surface distributary channels of the Deli Çayı. These braided and meandering streams have aggraded the plain over a region that has been sinking along a normal fault parallel to the

<sup>38</sup> Townsley 1946.

<sup>39</sup> Ozaner 1994.

coast. The alluvial plain has been built up by sedimentation for at least five million years, since the Pliocene epoch.<sup>40</sup>

The coast line has extended seaward from the mound itself over a distance of 525 metres, but a coastal fault has stopped the progradation and the coastline has experienced 30 metres of erosion due to human influences, such as dredging, since 1974.<sup>41</sup> Ozaner concluded that in the Hellenistic period, the Deli Çayı ran just south of the mound with a port on the sea. A branch of the Deli Çayı, with its tributary the Tum Çayı, ran just north of the höyük at an even earlier stage. The settlement's connection to the Deli Çayı came to an end around 50 CE, associated with an earthquake which shifted the stream into an older channel two kilometres south. The river again shifted farther south in the past 200 to 300 years. These migrations of the river, and the age and location of the mound, are consistent with the following scenario for the founding of the site.

The site started at a point near the mouth of the Deli and/or Tum Çayı when the Holocene sea level transgressed to its maximum point, around 5000 to 6000 years ago. Kinet would have been located on a high point on the coast and banks of the Deli Çayı, and the inhabitants used the estuary as a port, as well as exploiting the rich resources of the zone. Kara Höyük and Muttalip Höyük, two other mounds in this region that are now inland, were also probably founded on the coastline.

Based on five excavation trenches, we conclude that the sedimentation rates since the Hellenistic period were at least 5.3 metres at excavation unit T; 3.5–4 metres at Q; and three metres at the camp pit. Sedimentation at R was approximately six metres since the early Late Bronze Age. Since the medieval period, sedimentation rates therefore range from 2.3 metres per millennium at T, to 1.5–1.74 metres at Q; over 1.3 metres at the camp; and approximately 1.7 metres per millennium at R. These rates are higher than the rates measured along the cutbank buried soils, which are in the range of one metre per millennium. This works out to a range in sedimentation since the medieval period of one to two metres around the site and less than one metre in the floodplains. If we assume the same steady gradient across the alluvial plain in medieval times as exists today, then the shoreline would have been around 100 metres closer in the medieval period. Moreover, the Deli Çayı was still at least two kilometres south of Kinet. Therefore, we think the early medieval port site for timber must have been near the riverbank and buried by at least one metre of sediment.<sup>42</sup> Geophysical sur-

<sup>40</sup> Ozaner 1994.

<sup>41</sup> Ozaner 1994.

<sup>42</sup> Beach and Luzzadder-Beach 2000.

veys in the 2000 field season also indicate a significantly larger medieval settlement around the main tell of Kinet, although, based on their probable depth of burial and settlement geography, these settlements may be late medieval, like those on the mound.

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*Figure 7*

Photograph of bowl of locally-produced glazed sgraffito. KNH 936. See also Fig. 17:R

*Figure 8*

Photograph of clay kiln furniture trivet. KNH 707.

*Figure 9*

1. KT 13078. Bowl rim. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: white slip to upper line and clear glaze to lower line at rim. Interior: White slip and clear glaze with incised decoration of stork's head.
2. KT 12972. Bowl base. Hard orange fabric. Exterior: cream slip and clear glaze (including base). Interior: cream slip and clear glaze with incised depiction of human torso.
3. Operation O. Bowl base. Dark orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: cream slip (including base). Interior: cream slip and clear glaze with incised bird's head.

*Figure 10*

1. KT 12078. Bowl base. Orange fabric with lime and vegetal inclusions. Exterior: cream slip and clear glaze (including base). Interior: cream slip and clear glaze with gouged centrifform decoration.
2. KT 9168. Bowl base. Reddish brown fabric. Exterior: white slip (including base). Interior: white slip and clear glaze with heavily incised centrifform decoration of radiating lines with pennant-like appendages.
3. KT 11706. Bowl base. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: no glaze or slip. Interior: cream slip and clear glaze with incised centrifform blazon. Design plotched with diluted green and brown glaze.

*Figure 11*

1. KT 11658. Bowl base. Orange fabric with mineral inclusions. Exterior: white slip (including base). Interior: white slip and clear glaze. Gouged radiating centrifform decoration.
2. KT 8853. Bowl rim. Orange fabric. Exterior: white slip and clear glaze to line just below rim. Interior: white slip and clear glaze. Banded gouged curvilinear decoration.

*Figure 12*

KT 9567. Bowl. Brown fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: cream slip to carination and clear glaze dribbling below. Spur mark near rim. Interior: Cream slip and clear yellowish glaze. Gouged radiating centrifform decoration.

*Figure 13*

KT 10416. Bowl. Red brown fabric. Exterior: white slip and clear glaze sloppily applied at rim. Interior: lightly and unevenly applied diluted white slip and clear glaze. Gouged centrifform decoration of fish and ivy leaves. More lightly incised 'comma' incised just below rim.

*Figure 14*

1. KT 12214. Bowl base. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: no slip or glaze. Interior: cream slip and clear glaze. Incised centrifform knot design. One knot strand roughly in-filled with brown glaze and one with green (not shown in drawing)
2. KT 11634. Bowl rim. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: cream slip to lower and green glaze to upper lines indicated. Interior: cream slip and clear glaze. Incised banded fretwork near rim. Design elements splashed alternately with diluted green and brown glaze (not shown in drawing).

*Figure 15*

1. KT 11345. Bowl base. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: no slip or glaze. Interior: cream slip and dark green glaze. Incised representation of Scorpio.
2. KT 7373. Bowl base. Light brown/orange fabric. Exterior: no slip or glaze. Interior: cream slip and clear glaze. Incised representation of seated cupbearer. Diluted brown and green glazed highlights around the figure (not shown in drawing)
3. KT 11634. Bowl rim. Brown fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: cream slip and clear glaze to line indicated. Interior: cream slip and clear glaze. Incised banded decoration. Design elements splashed alternately with diluted brown and green glaze (not shown in drawing).

*Figure 16*

KT 13383. Bowl rim. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: cream slip and clear glaze to line indicated just below rim. Interior: cream slip and clear glaze. Rim bears incised vegetal decoration. The background between the design units is colored alternately with diluted green and brown glaze (not shown in drawing). Towards the base of the interior is a 'pot sticker' clear glaze accretion from kiln stacking.

*Figure 17*

1. KT 7131. Bowl rim. Orange fabric thickly potted. Exterior: white slip and clear greenish glaze to upper and lower lines respectively shown on drawing. Interior: white slip and clear greenish glaze. Incised banded curvilinear decoration. Decoration pocked with green and brown glazed spots (not shown in drawing).
2. KT 11311. Bowl. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: white slip and clear glaze to lower and upper lines indicated respectively. Interior: white slip and clear

glaze. Incised banded and centrifform decoration. Design units splashed alternately with diluted brown and green glaze (not shown in drawing). See also photograph Fig. 7.

3. KT 12636. Bowl base. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: Cream slip to line at top. Spot of clear glaze on base. Interior: cream slip and clear glaze. Incised centrifform decoration. Design elements daubed alternately with diluted brown and green glaze (not shown in drawing).

*Figure 18*

1. KT 11476. Bowl base. Orange fabric. Exterior: no slip or glaze. Interior: cream slip and clear glaze. Incised rosette. Petals of the rosette splashed with diluted brown and green glaze to form two crosses, one brown, one green (not shown in drawing).
2. KT 12636. Bowl base. Orange fabric with occasional lime, pebble, and vegetal inclusions. Exterior: no slip or glaze. Interior: cream slip and clear glaze. Incised bird. Body of bird splashed with green glaze; head, wing, and claws with brown glaze (not shown in drawing).
3. KT 12214. Bowl base. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: white slip smear on base. Interior: white slip and clear greenish glaze. Incised bird. Brown glaze on one leg and end of tail, green glaze on body (now shown in drawing).

*Figure 19*

1. KT 12153. Bowl base. Light brown fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: no slip or glaze. Interior: white slip and clear greenish glaze. Incised composite quadruped, possibly Sagittarius. Green glaze on spotted portion of torso and brown on tufted hindquarters (not shown in drawing).
2. KNH 633. KT 8045. Bowl. Brown/orange fabric. Exterior: cream slip and clear glaze at rim (not indicated). Interior: cream slip and clear glaze. Incised radial design with splashes of brown and green glaze.

*Figure 20*

1. KT 8450. Bowl rim. Orange/light brown fabric. Exterior: cream slip to upper and clear glaze to lower lines indicated. Interior: cream slip and greenish white glaze. Incised decoration. Design elements splashed alternately with diluted brown and green glaze (not shown in drawing).
2. KT 1572. Bowl base. Orange fabric. Exterior: no slip or glaze. Interior: cream slip and clear glaze. Incised knot design. Holes of knot splashed alternately with brown and green glaze (not shown in drawing).

*Figure 21*

1. KT 13262. Bowl rim. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: cream slip to upper and clear glaze to lower lines indicated at rim. Interior: cream slip and clear glaze. Incised decoration of banded fretwork and bird. Design elements of fretwork splashed alternately with diluted brown and green glaze (not shown in drawing).

2. KT 7763/7921 Bowl. Light brown fabric. Exterior: cream slip and clear greenish glaze to lines indicated. Interior: cream slip and clear greenish glaze. Incised representation of Cancer. Design elements splashed alternately with brown and dark green glaze (not shown in drawing).

*Figure 22*

1. KT 12212. Corner of bichrome glazed sgraffito tile. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Sides covered with clear glaze. Top: cream slip and clear glaze. Incised banded fretwork. Design elements splashed alternately with brown and green glaze (not shown in drawing).
2. KT 3001. Bowl. Orange fabric. Exterior: white slip and mustard yellow glaze to lines indicated. Interior: white slip and mustard yellow glaze with lines of rouletted punctate decoration.
3. KT 3108. Bowl. Brittle red brown fabric. Exterior: white slip and green glaze to line indicated. Interior: white slip and green glaze. Incised 'scribbled' design.

*Figure 23*

1. KT 12246. Bowl base. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: no slip or glaze. Interior: cream slip and dark mustard yellow glaze. Incised curvilinear design.
2. KT 12639. Bowl base. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: no slip or glaze. Interior: cream slip and clear glaze. Incised radial design. Design is washed with bands of diluted brown and green glaze running *across* it.
3. KT 12246. Bowl base. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: no slip or glaze. Interior: cream slip and clear glaze. Incised radial design. Area between design elements covered alternately with green and brown glaze (not shown in drawing).

*Figure 24*

KNH 144. KT 1128. Bowl. Brown fabric. Interior: cream slip and greenish clear glaze with brown accents. Incised representation of mounted knight carrying shield. Side and base of bowl bear scratched six pointed star.

*Figure 25*

1. KT 5276/5236. Bowl. Orange fabric with lime and mineral inclusions. Exterior: white slip to line at rim. Interior: white slip and green glaze. Incised lines.
2. KT 6394/6243. Bowl. Orange fabric. Exterior: green glaze at rim. Interior: green glaze.
3. KT 13384. Bowl rim. Orange fabric. Exterior: Cream glaze and diluted brown glaze to line indicated. Lines at the rim from kiln stacking. Interior: cream slip and green glaze.

*Figure 26*

KT 6319. Bowl. White stonepaste fabric. Exterior: black painted design under clear glaze. Interior: black and blue painted design under clear glaze. Rim design restored.

*Figure 27*

1. KT 11561. Bowl. Sandy medium hard stonepaste fabric. Exterior: clear glaze to line indicated. Interior: clear glaze with overglaze painted luster design.
2. KT 8892/8878. Albarello. Sandy off white stonepaste/calcareous clay body. Exterior: clear glaze with glazed decoration (imitation thuluth script?) in black outline infilled with black curvilinear lines with green/turquoise curvilinear patterns between the 'letters' and applied red dots. Interior: clear glaze.

*Figure 28*

1. KT 7649. Lamp. Brown fabric. White slip. Unglazed.
2. KT 8150. Lamp. Brown fabric. Unglazed. Burned at spout.

*Figure 29*

KNH 146. KT 3117. Body fragment of cylindrical vessel. Brittle red brown fabric. Applied decoration of molded warriors placed on ledge projecting from circumference of the vessel. Exterior slip painted with cream slip and glazed with clear glaze.

*Figure 30*

1. KT 12835. Closed form vessel. Brittle red brown fabric. Brown manganese glaze on interior base and body.
2. KT 8857. Open form vessel 'frying pan.' Brittle red brown fabric. Brown manganese glaze on interior, at rim on exterior.
3. KT 7306. Open form vessel 'frying pan.' Brittle red brown fabric. Brown manganese glaze on interior, at rim on exterior.

*Figure 31*

KNH 134a. KT 3026. Jug. Orange fabric with lime inclusions and heavy white slip on exterior.

*Figure 32*

KT 1659. Jug. Brown fabric.

*Figure 33*

KT 2300. Jug. Brown fabric.

*Figure 34*

1. KT 2300. Pitcher. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Cream slip on interior and exterior.
2. KT 2300. Pitcher. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Cream slip on interior and exterior.

*Figure 35*

1. KNH 635. Jug. Brown fabric. Red painted on the exterior.
2. KT 12084. Quatrefoil Pitcher. Brown fabric with mineral and vegetal inclusions. Applied (thumbstop; strips on the inside and outside of the rim) and lightly incised (bands on the body, crested meander, zig-zag on the handle) decoration.

*Figure 36*

KNH 104. KT 1171. Jug. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Light cream slip on the exterior. Wheel marks on the exterior include spiraling lines near the rim. Scratched six-pointed star on the shoulder.

*Figure 37*

1. KNH 474. KT 6529. Pitcher. Brittle red brown fabric. Brown glaze applied around the neck and top of the handle.
2. KT 8676. Amphora. Light brown fabric.

*Figure 38*

1. KT 3689. Cooking pot. Dark brown coarse fabric with mineral and vegetal inclusions. Exterior slipped reddish brown (with the exception of small areas under the handles) and incised, punctate, and applied band of 'butterflies' on shoulder. Vessel originally had six handles. Exterior burnt below midpoint on one side above the midpoint.
2. KNH 651. KT 8232. Cooking pot. Brown fabric with brown slip applied to exterior. Incised and applied decoration. Upside-down 'v' applied to rim opposite the handle.

*Figure 39*

1. KT 6304/6315. Cooking pot. Coarse brown fabric with lime, mineral, and vegetal inclusions. Exterior has intermittent rope tooled raised decoration below the rim. Body has applied and smoothed winding meander pattern. Strap handle has applied 'snake' thumbstop. Burned at rim.
2. KT 3114. Cooking pot. Coarse brown fabric with mineral and vegetal inclusions. Tool incised decoration on exterior of pot and handle.

*Figure 40*

1. KT 9716. Cooking pot. Coarse red brown fabric with mineral and vegetal inclusions. Applied nub opposite handle.
2. KT 10519. Cooking pot. Brown fabric with mineral inclusions. Exterior has 2 applied zig-zags on either side of the pot and a cord impressed line above this. There are scored lines at the top of the handles. The lower half and irregular parts of the upper half of the exterior are fire blackened.



*Figure 41*

1. KT 3076. Lid. Brown fabric with mineral and vegetal inclusions. Incised decoration.
2. KT 12132. Handmade lid. Brown fabric with gross vegetal and mineral inclusions. Cord-impressed decoration on handle and top.

*Figure 42*

KT 10136. Basin. Orange fabric with heavy lime, mineral, and vegetal inclusions. Exterior and rim top comb incised.

*Figure 43*

1. KT 7669. Pithos rim. Orange fabric with lime inclusions.
2. KT 7669. Pithos rim and body. Red brown fabric with lime and pebble inclusions. Crimped rim. Black painted band below neck and gouged 'W' with raised applied nodules at points.
3. KT 8695. Pithos rim. Red brown fabric with lime inclusions. Crimped rim.

*Figure 44*

1. KT 9201. Ivory comb fragment. Carved. Obverse depicts passant feline between two roundels. Reverse depicts cross in roundel.
2. KT 11991. Bone comb fragment. Incised circles on both sides.

*Figure 45*

1. KT 13602. Iron arrowhead.
2. KT 13007. Iron arrowhead.
3. KT 13611. Iron arrowhead.
4. KT 11714. Iron arrowhead.
5. KT 13603. Iron arrowhead.

*Figure 46*

1. KT 11992. Iron knife.
2. KT 7695. Iron sickle.

*Figure 47*

1. KT 9216. Iron lance.
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*Figure 48*

1. KT 5557. Iron nail.
2. KT 4982. Iron nail.

- 3. KT 13509. Bone spindle whorl.
- 4. KT 12363. Bone spindle whorl.
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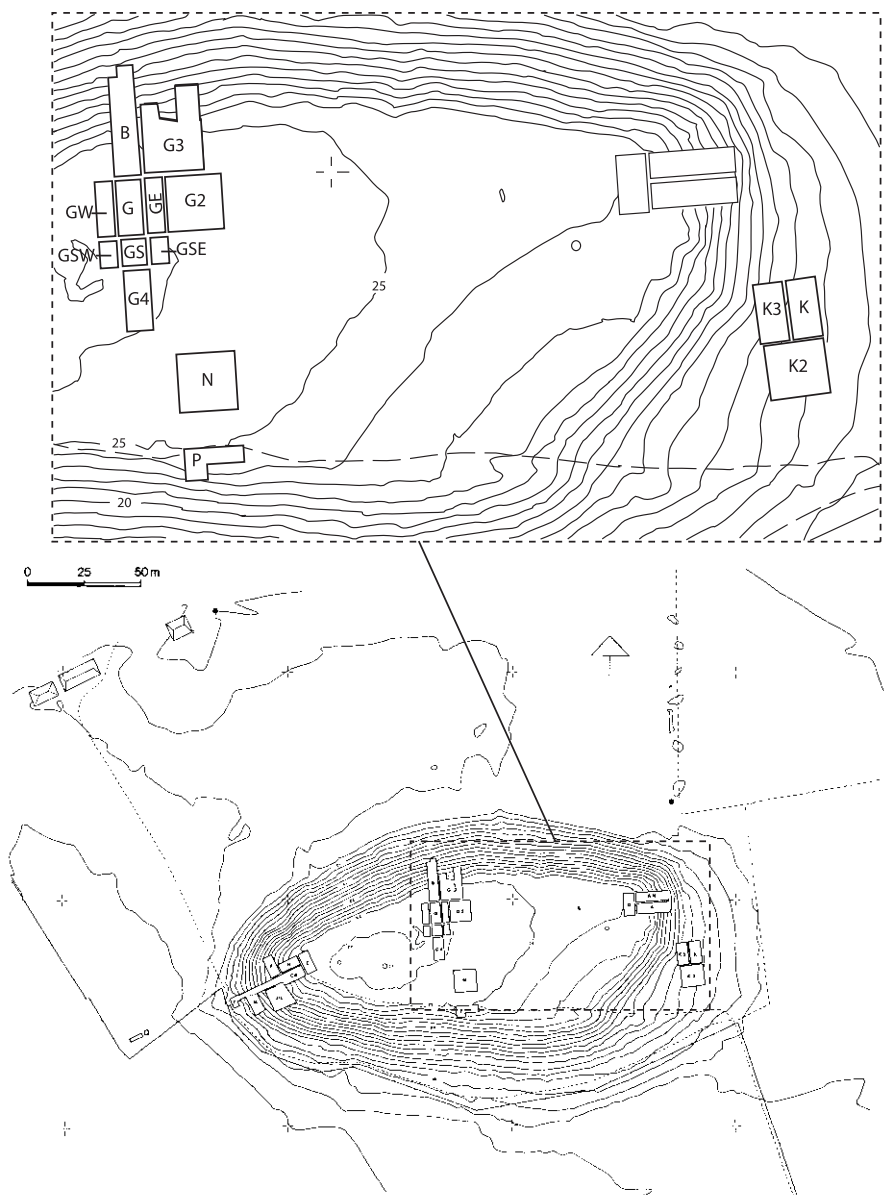


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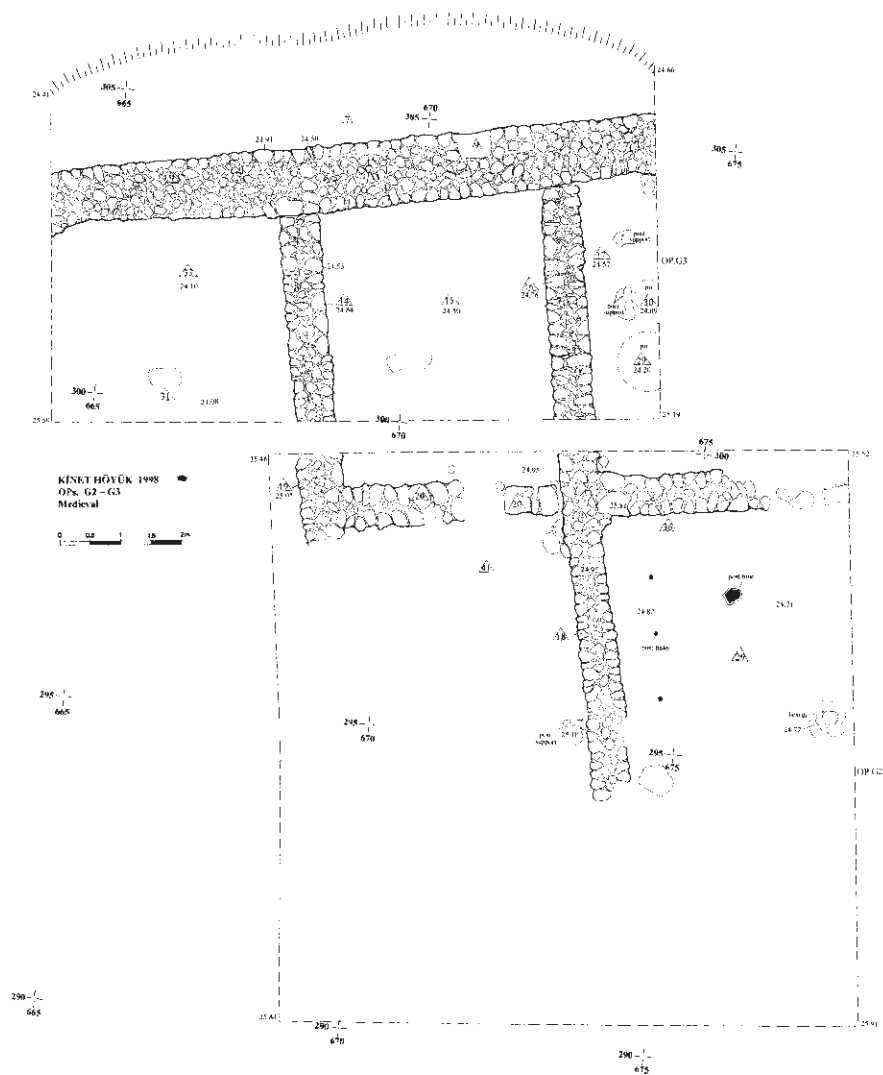


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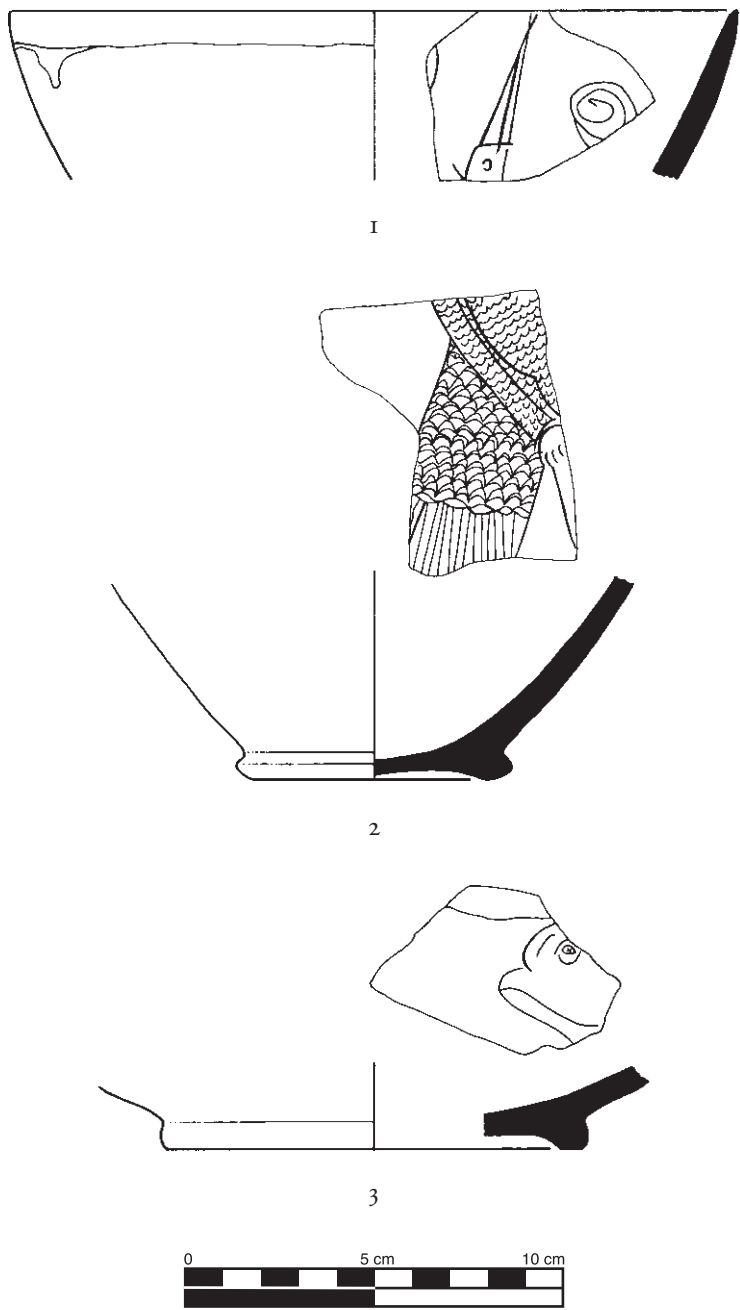
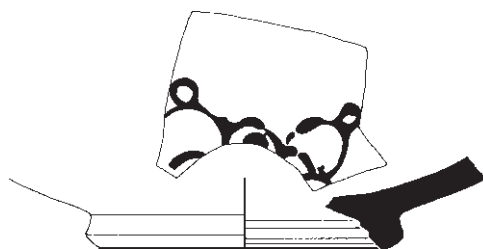
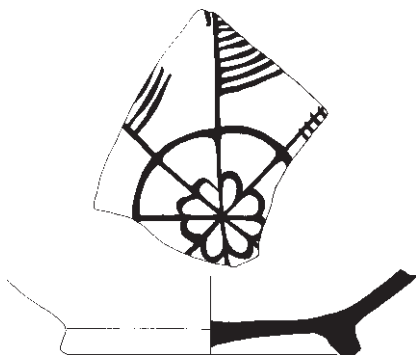


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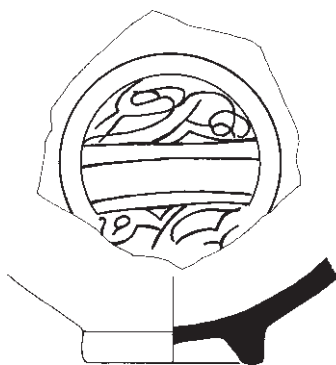




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Fig. 10. Imported Sgraffito Bowls.

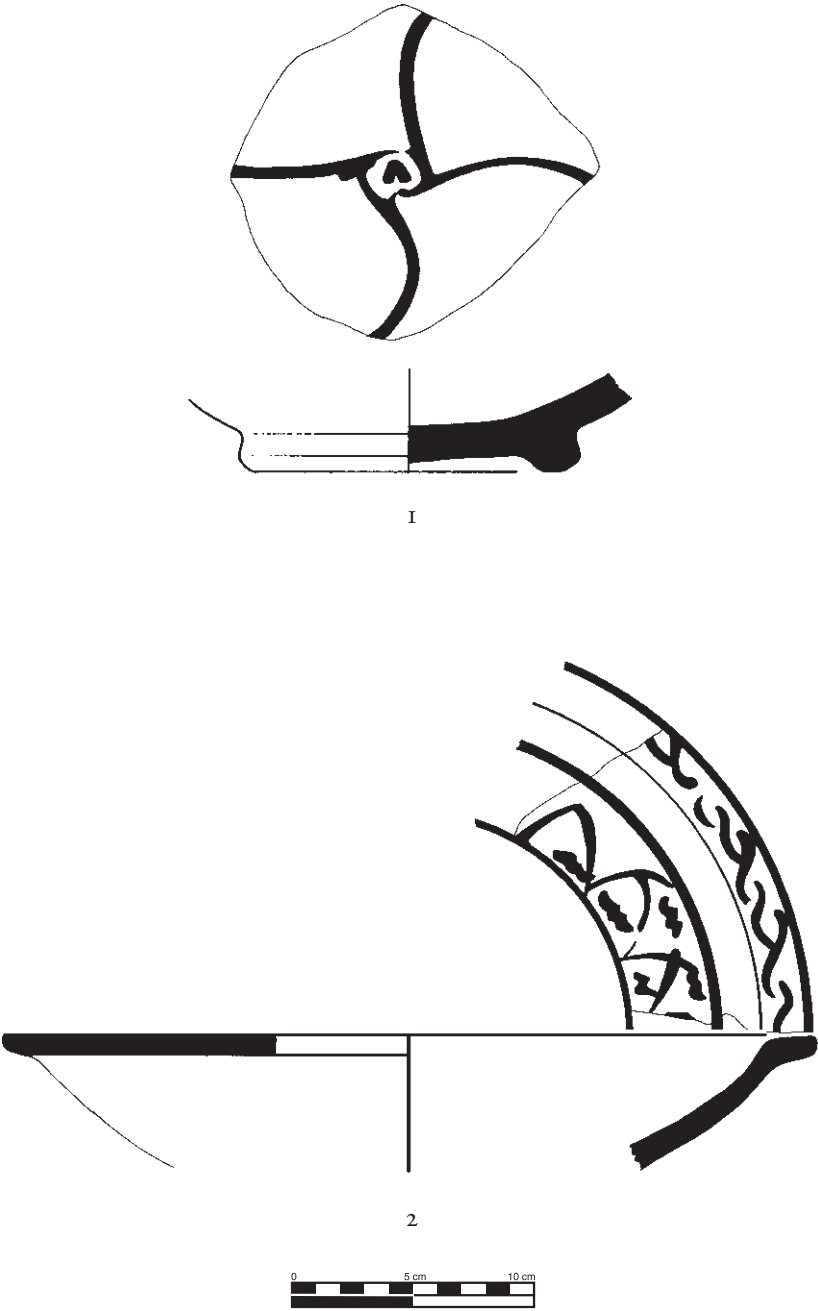


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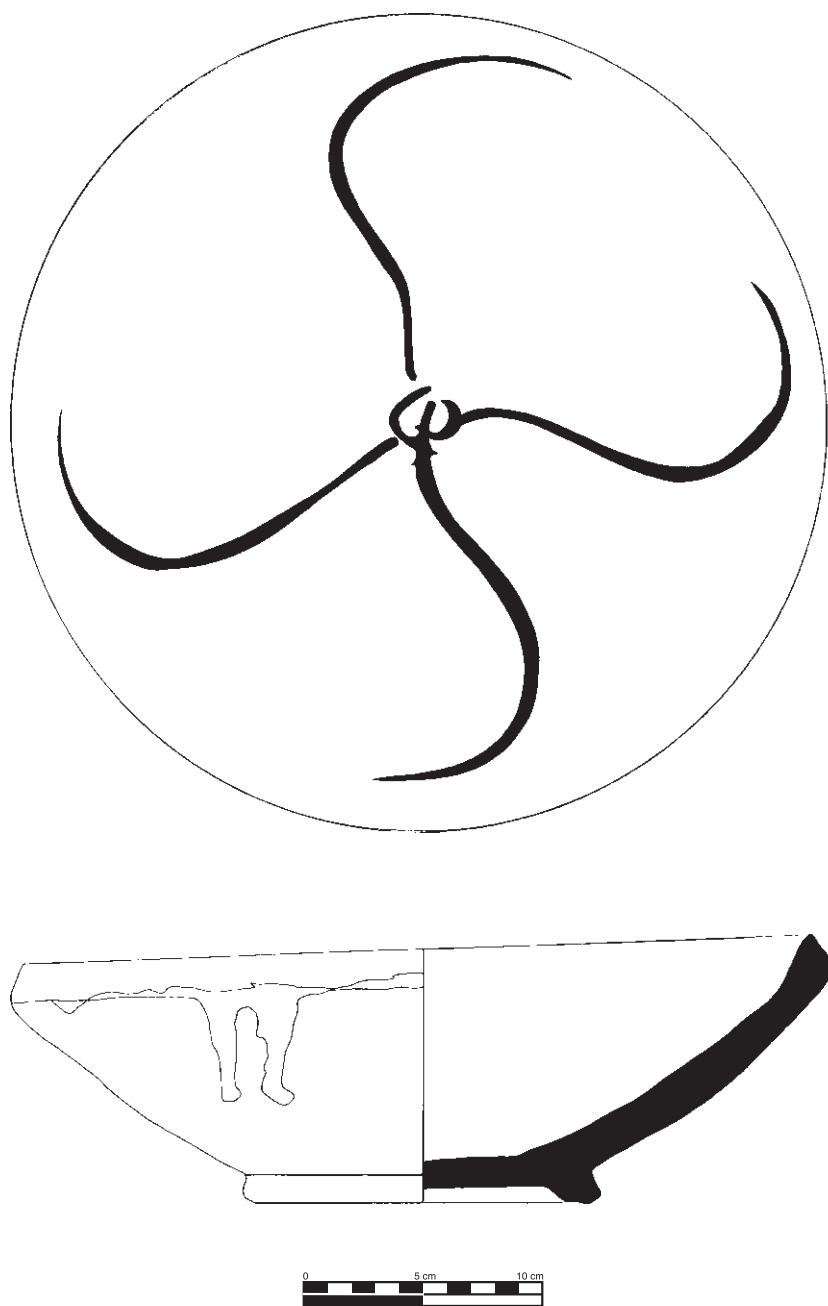


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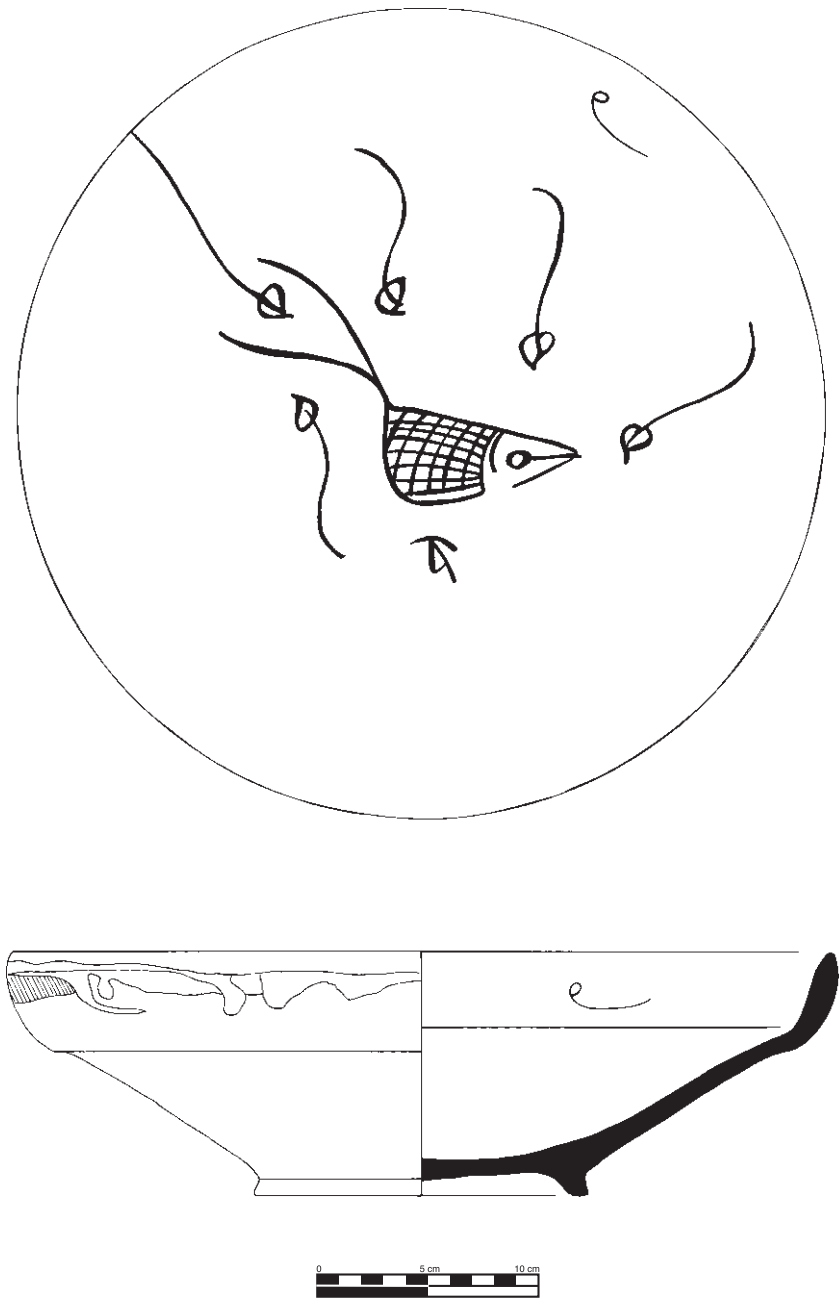


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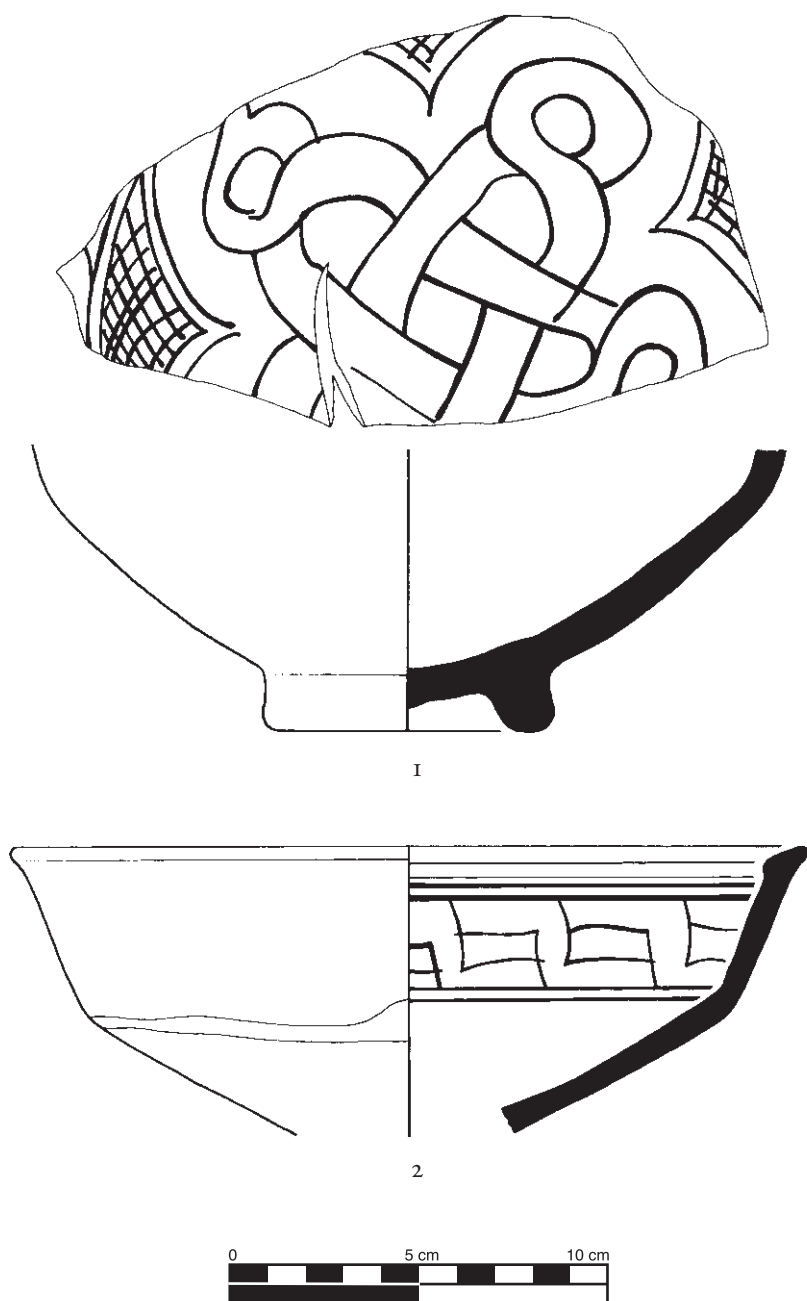


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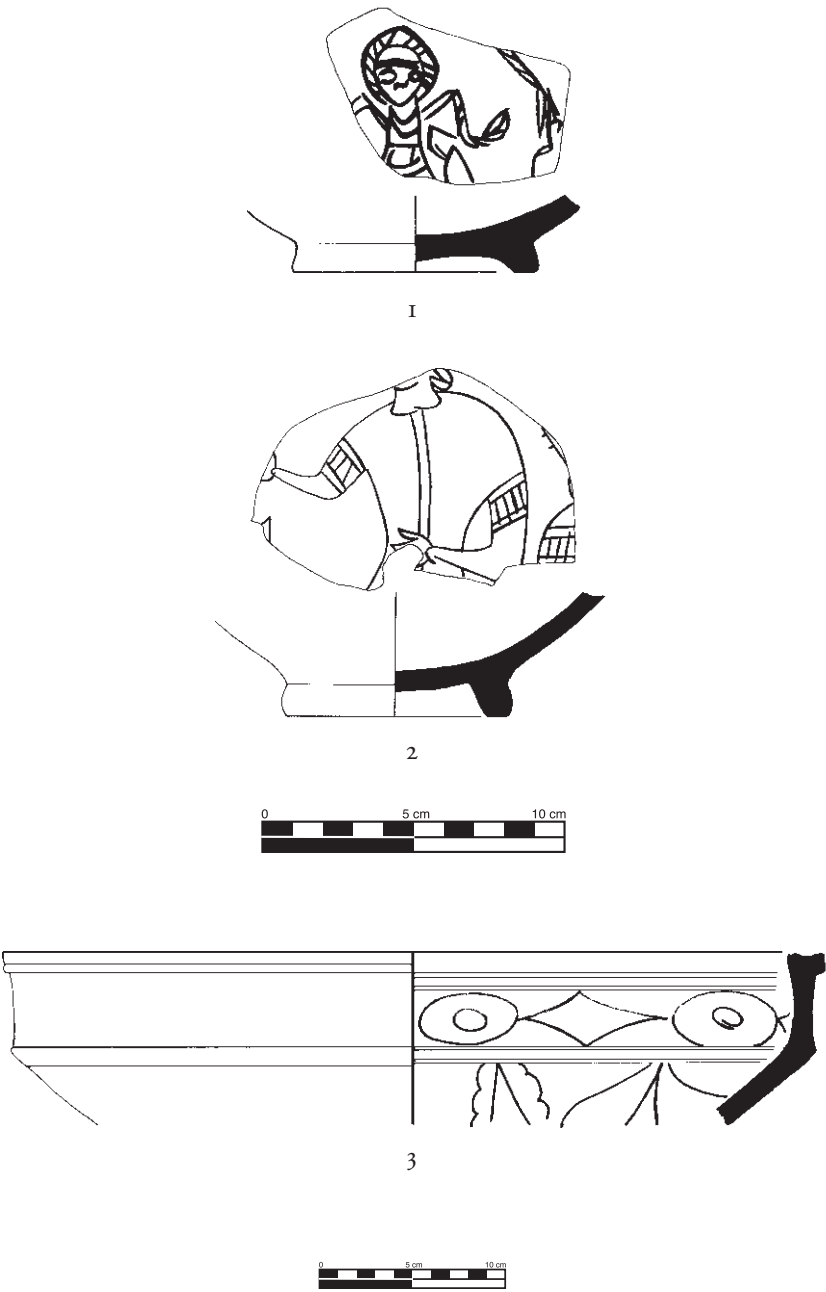


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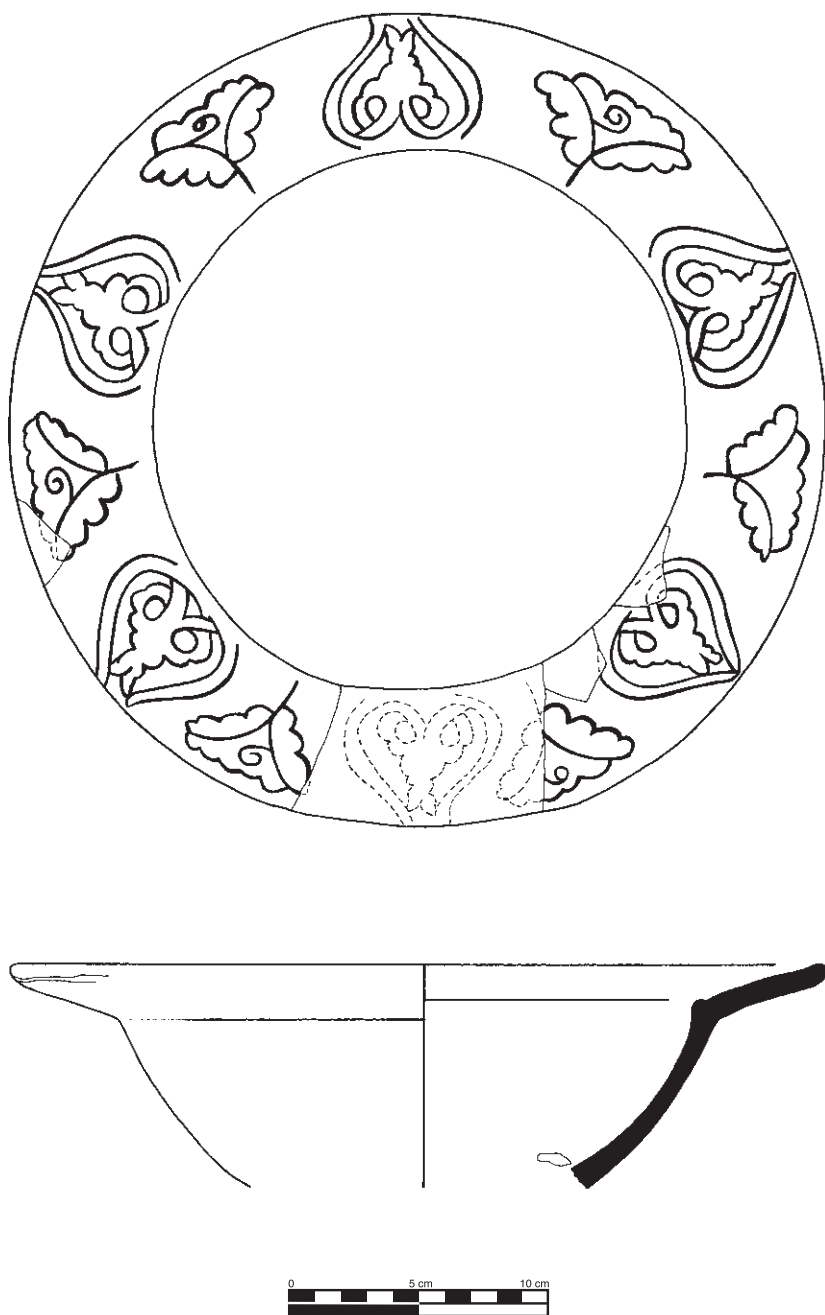


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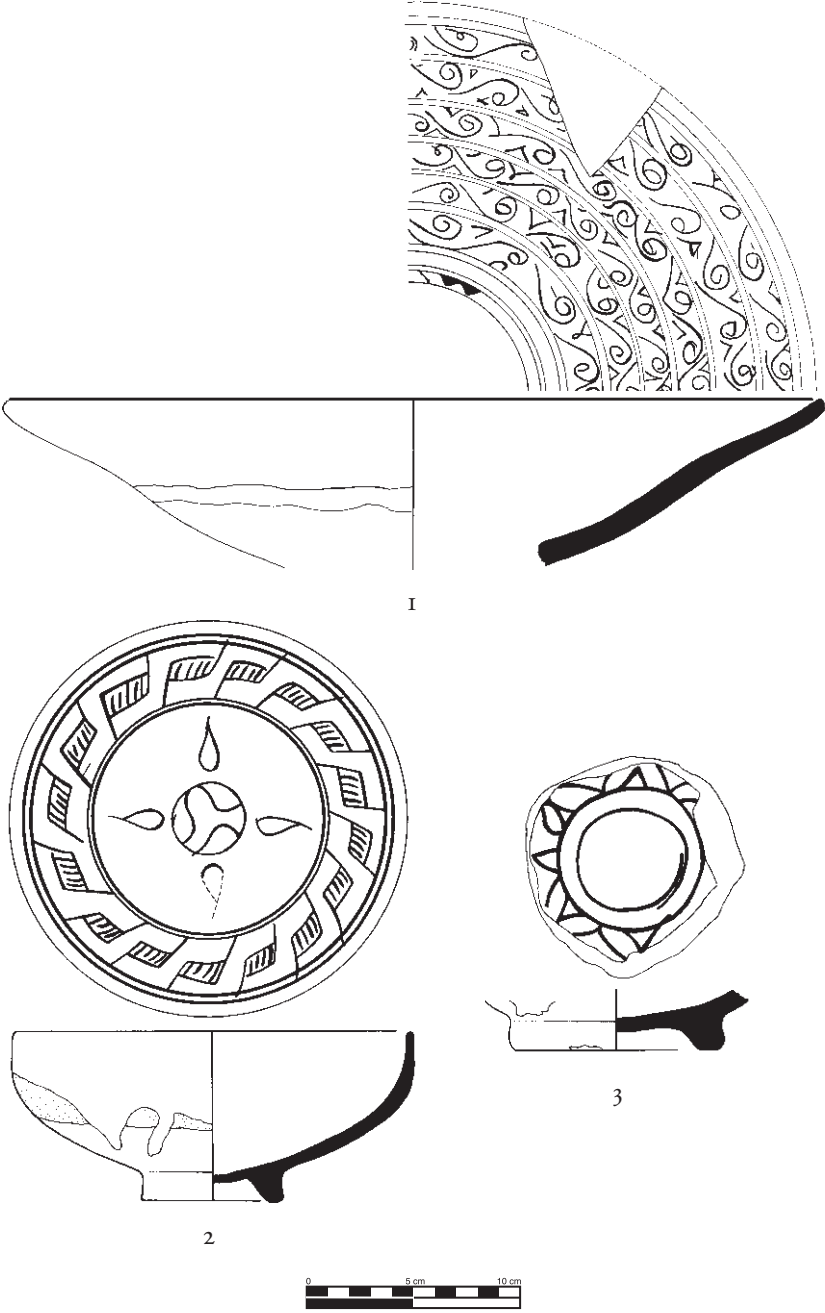
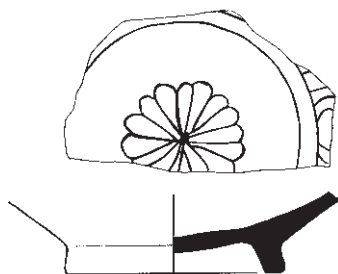
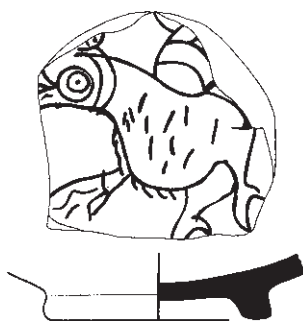


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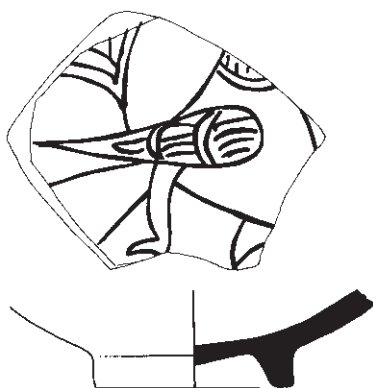




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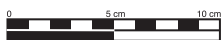
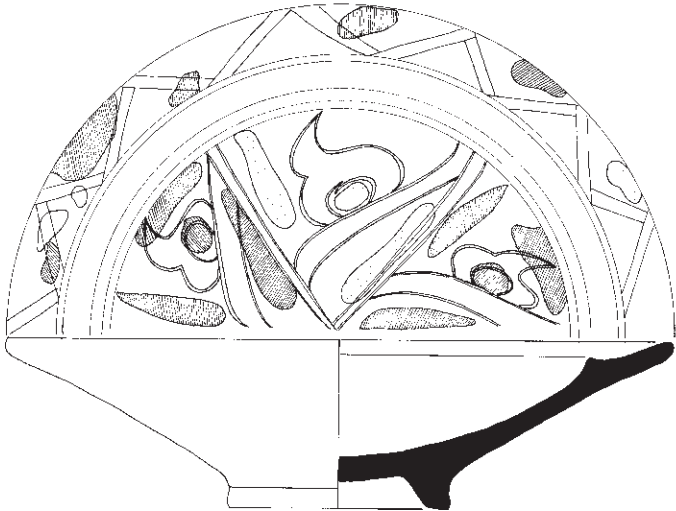


Fig. 18. Local Sgraffito Bowls.



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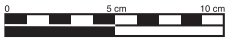
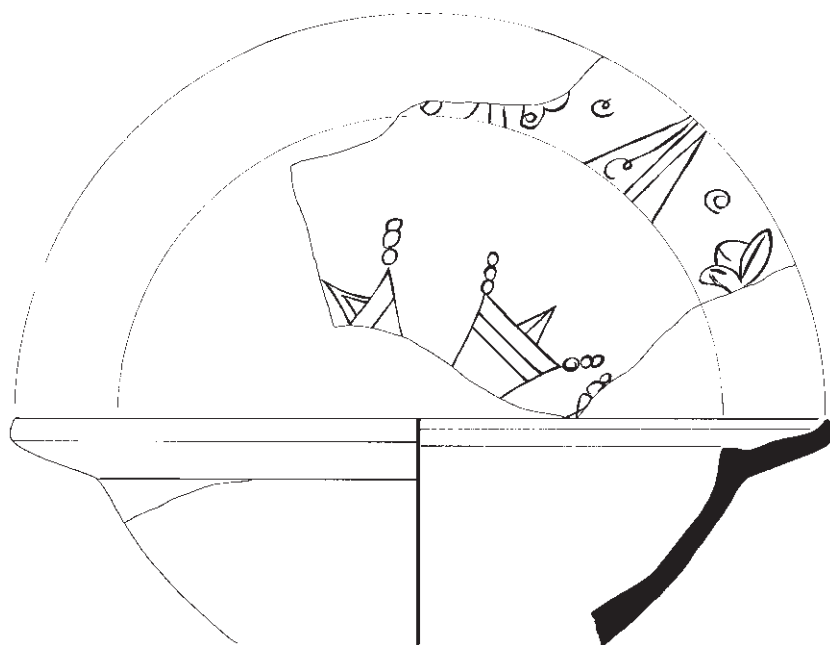
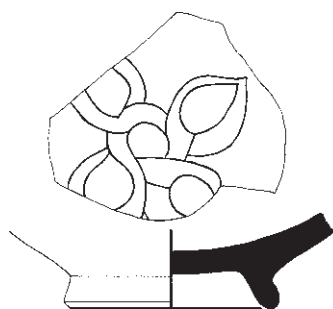


Fig. 19. Local Sgraffito Bowls.



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Fig. 20. Local Sgraffito Bowls.

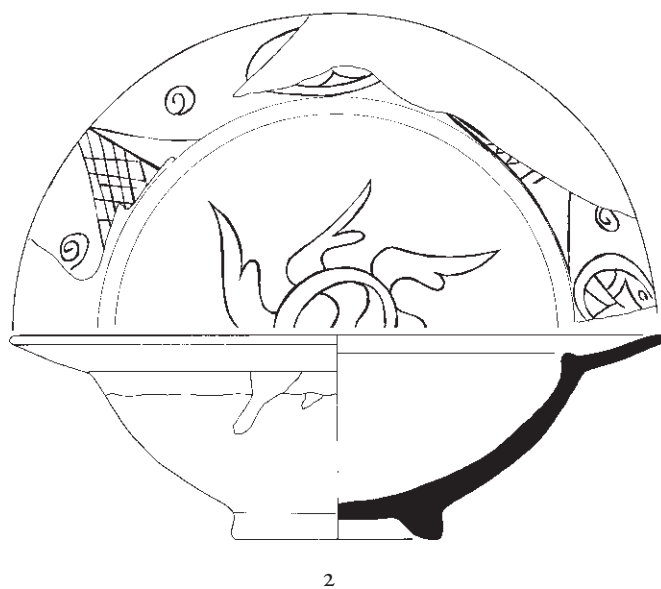
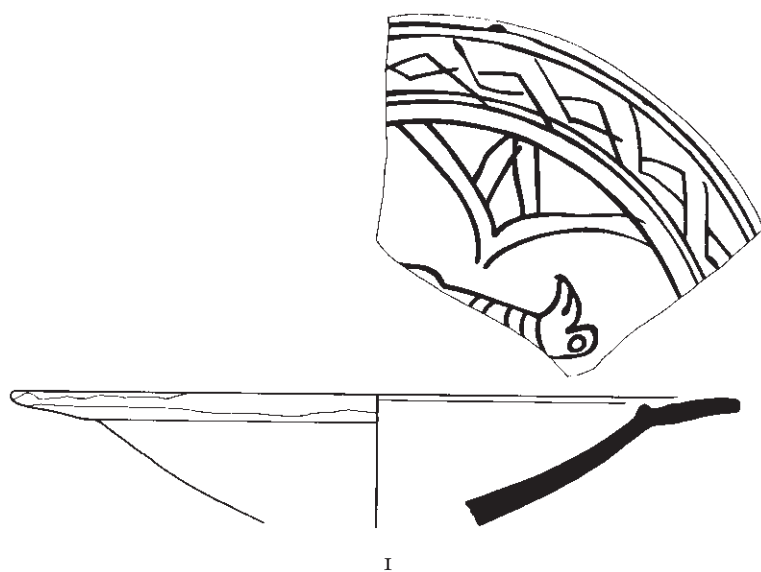


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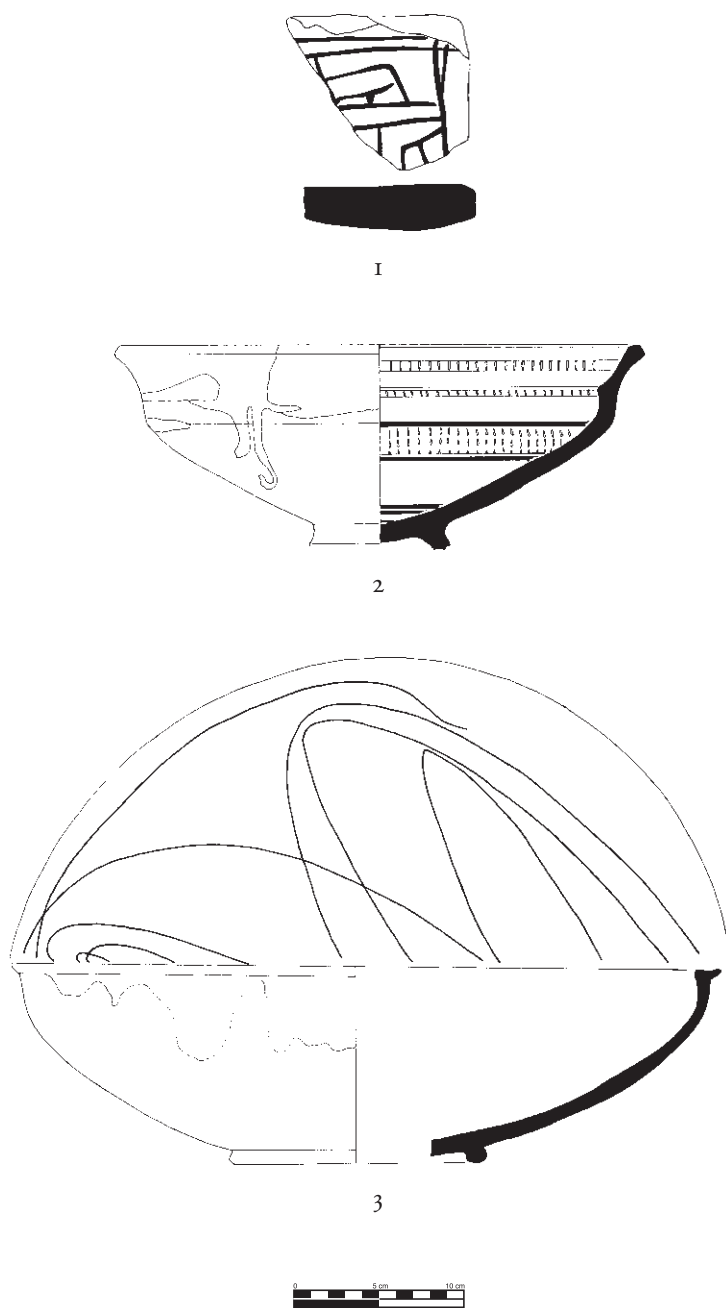


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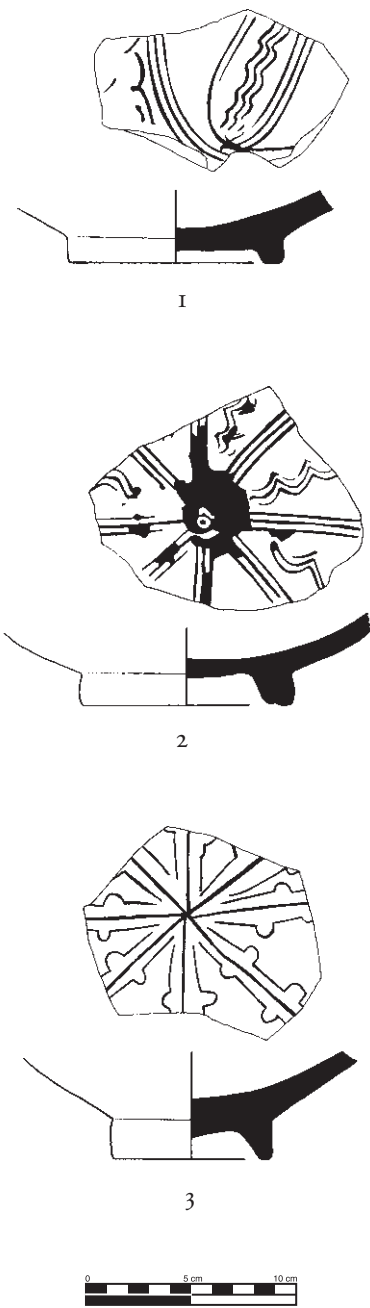


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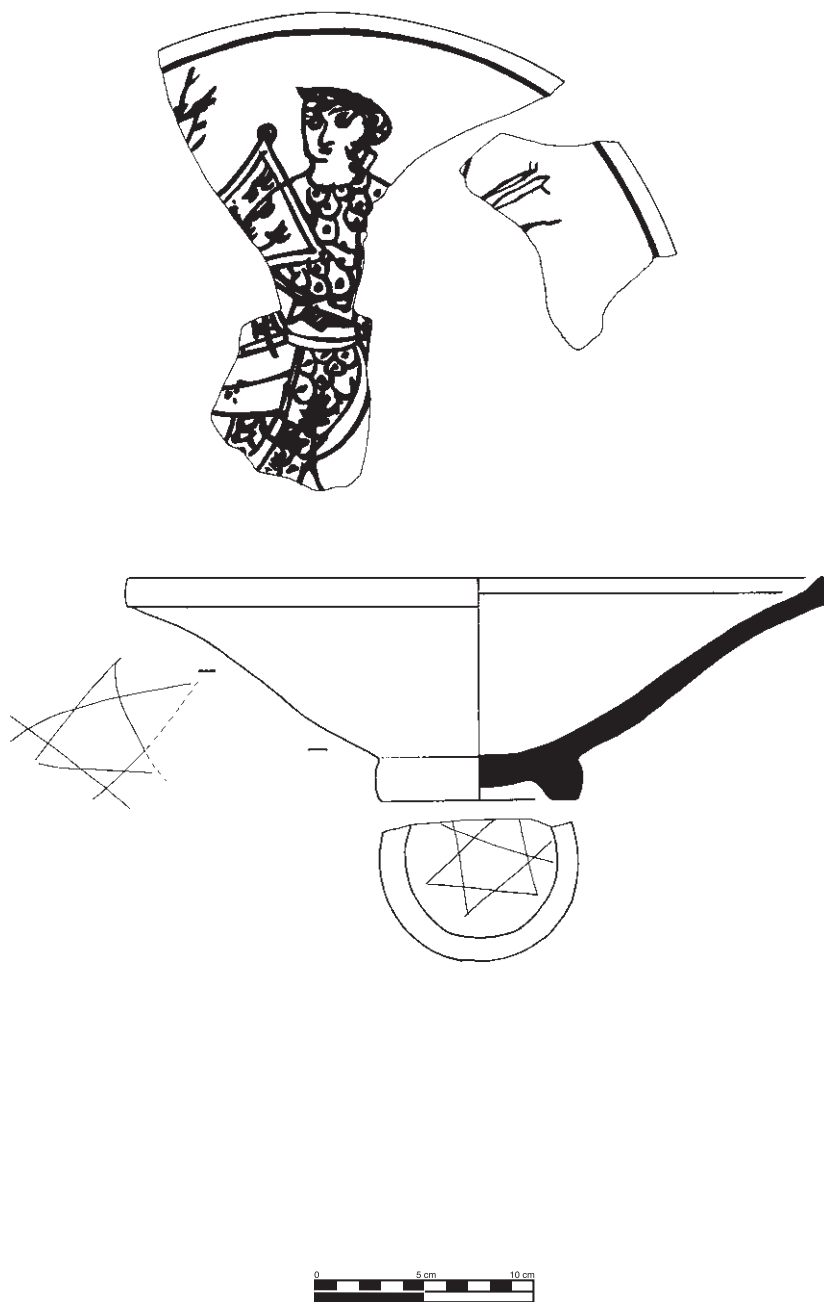
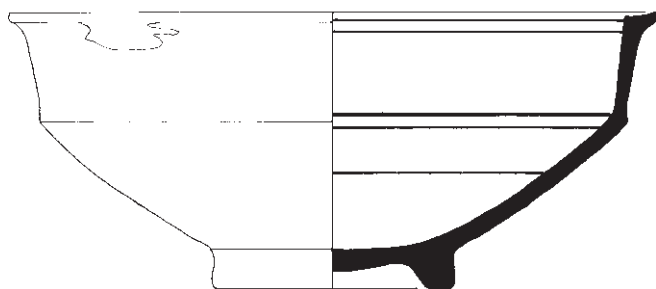
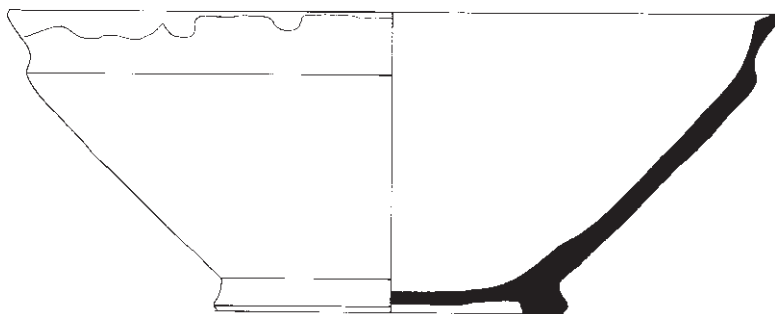


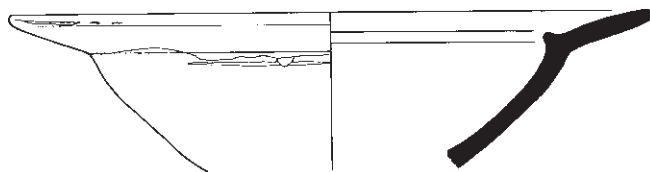
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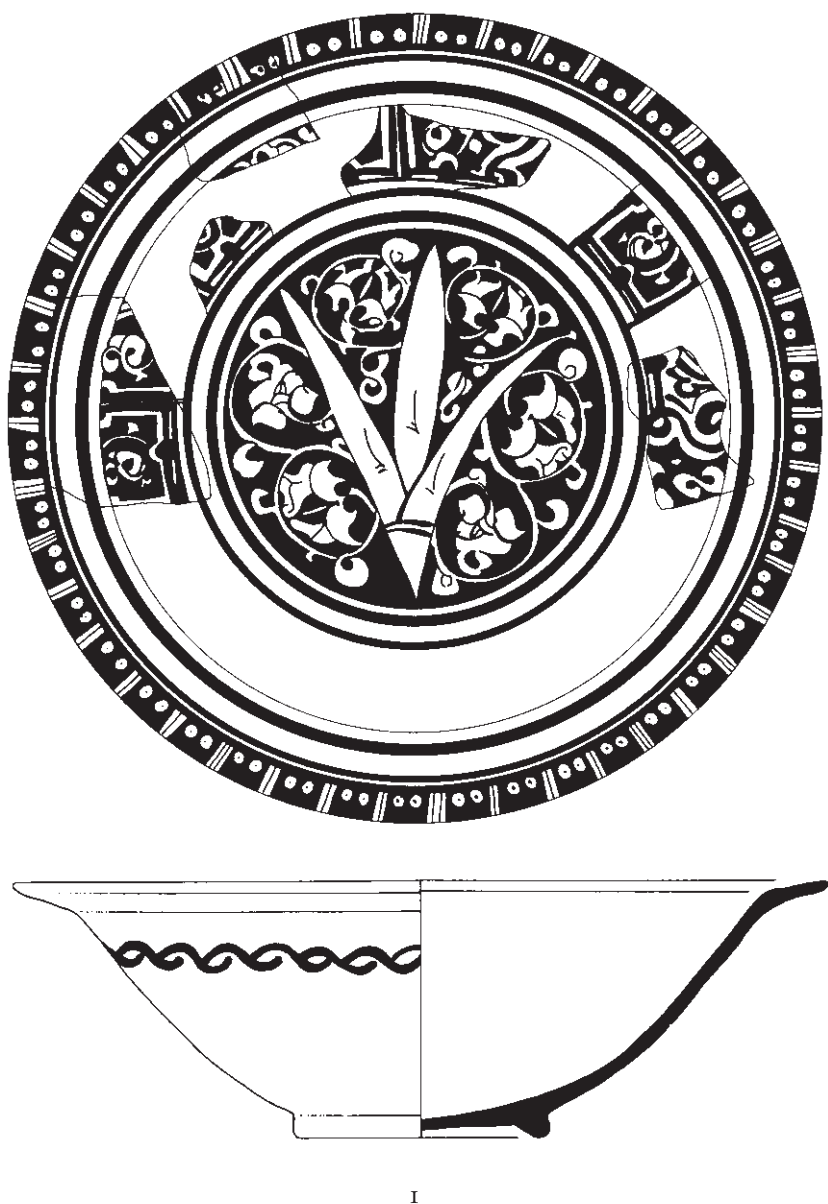
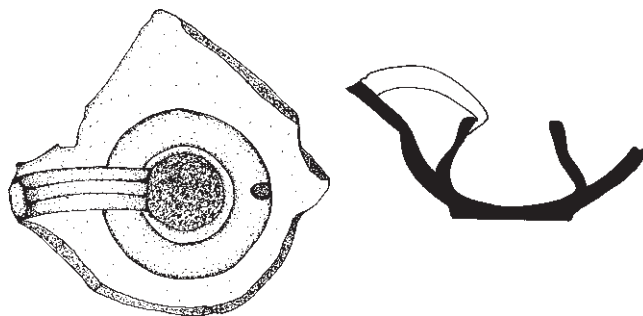


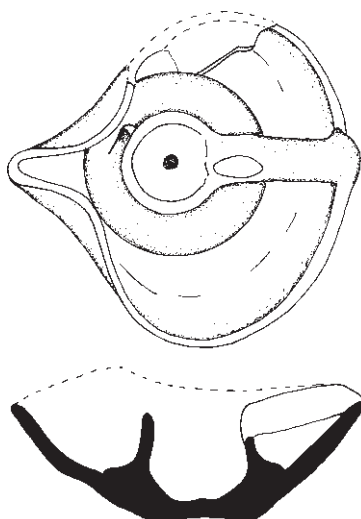
Fig. 26. Miscellaneous Imports.



Fig. 27. Miscellaneous Imports.



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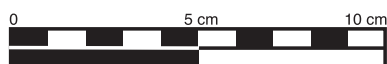


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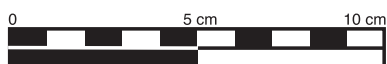
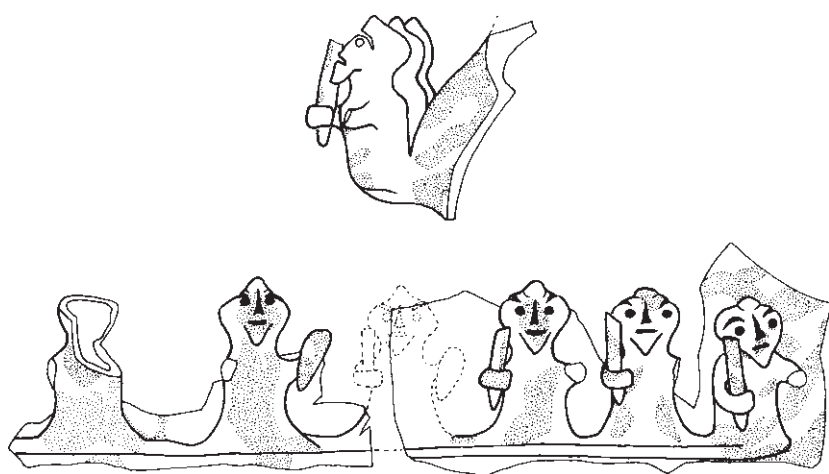


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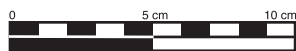
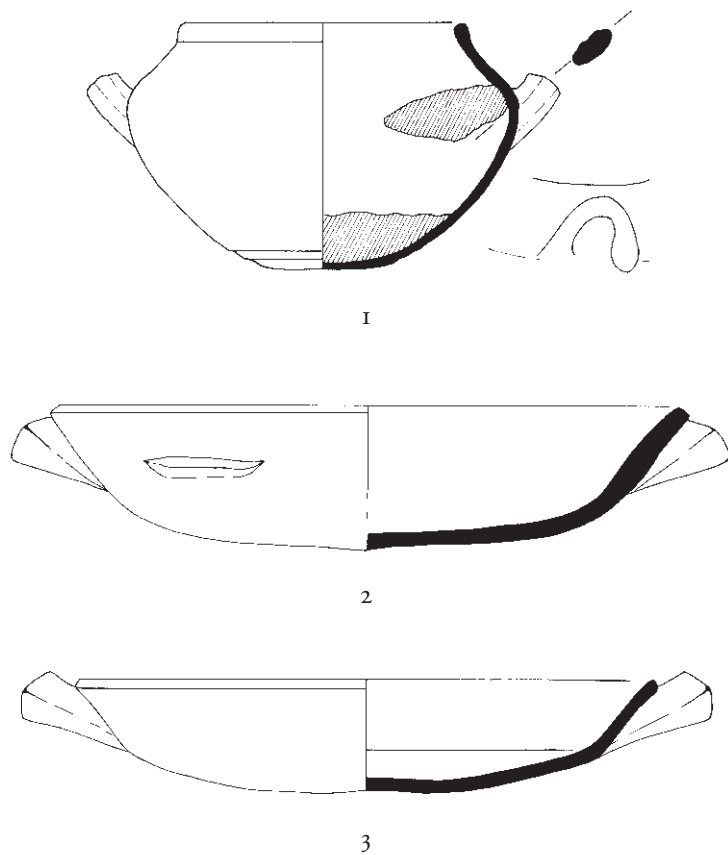


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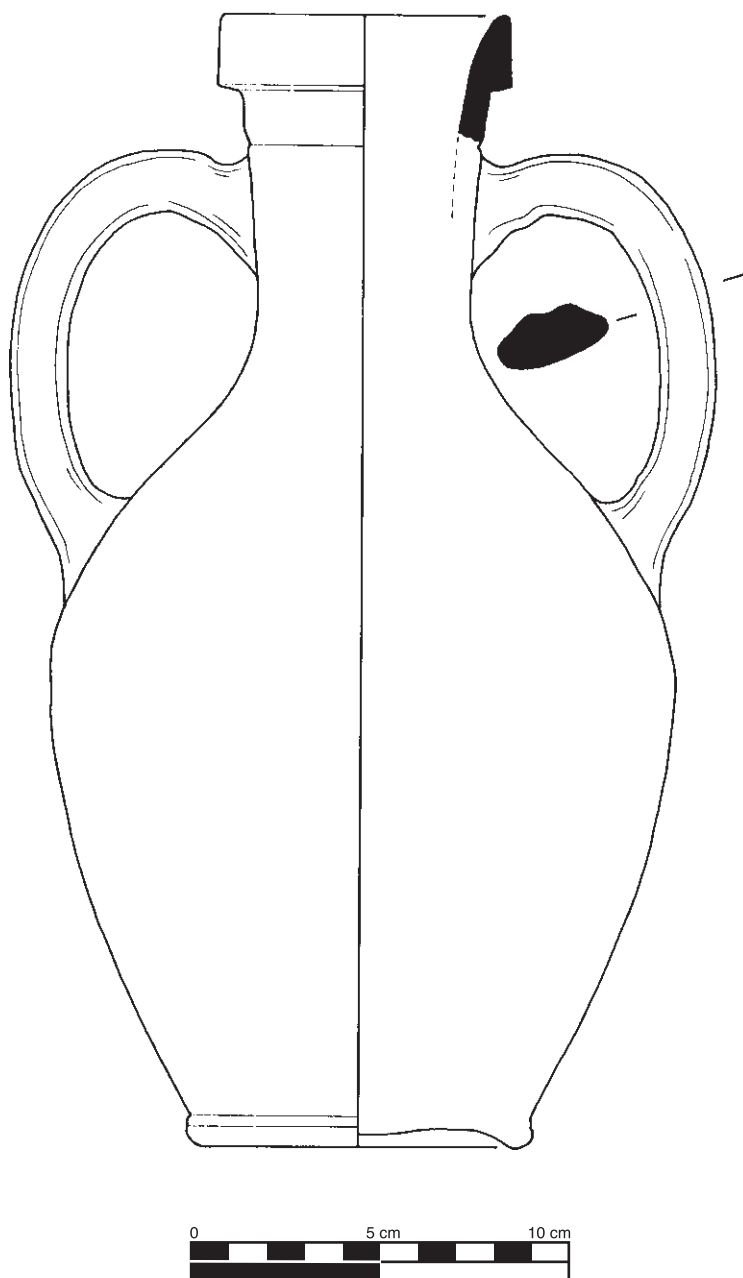


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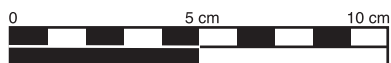
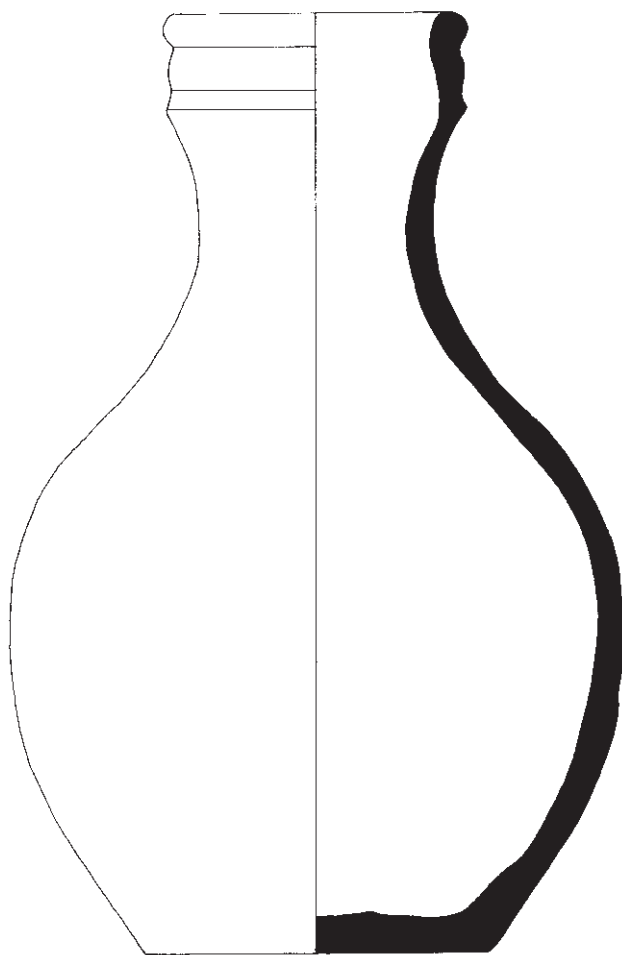


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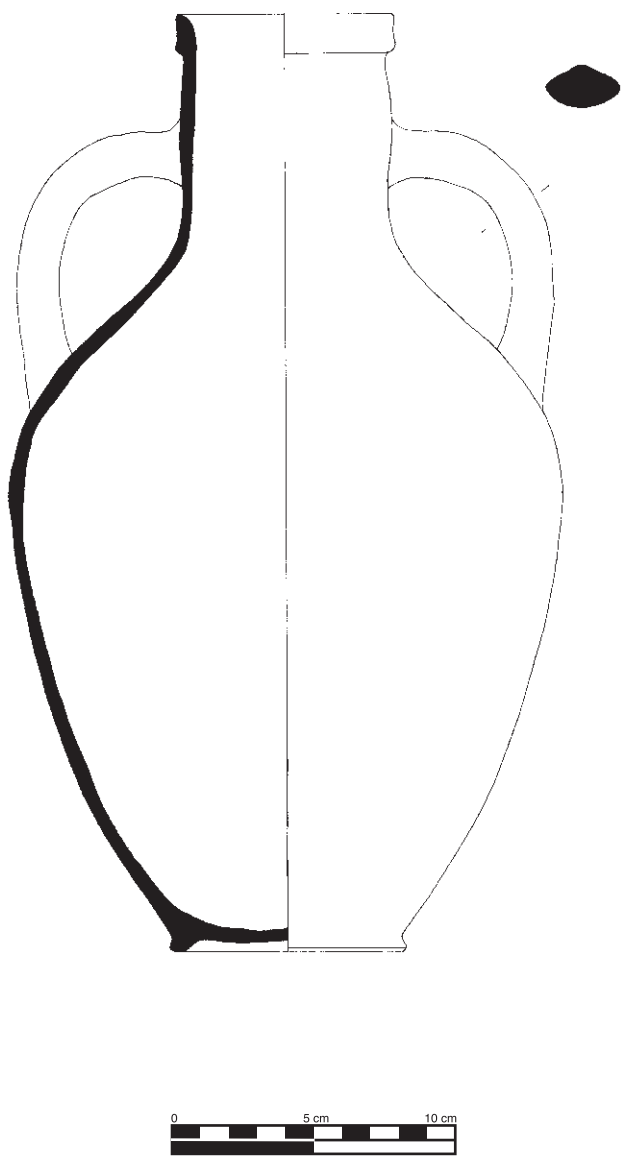


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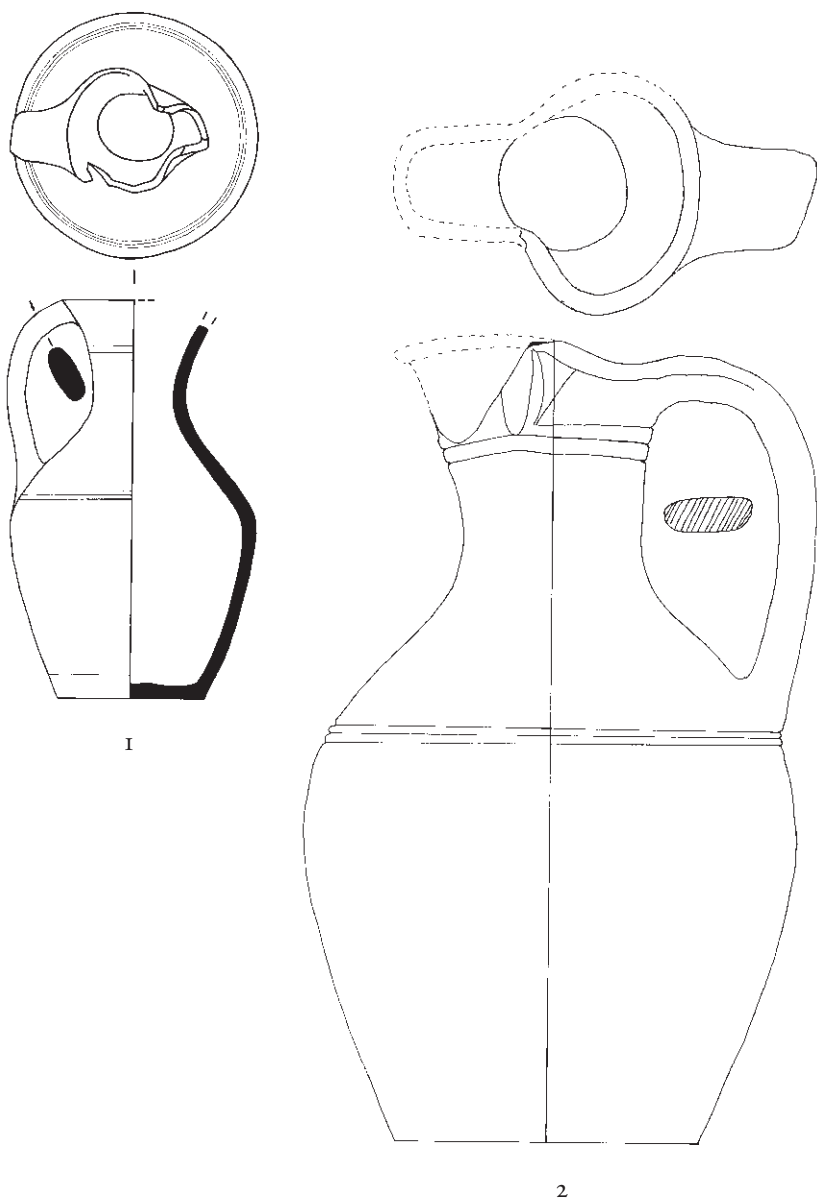


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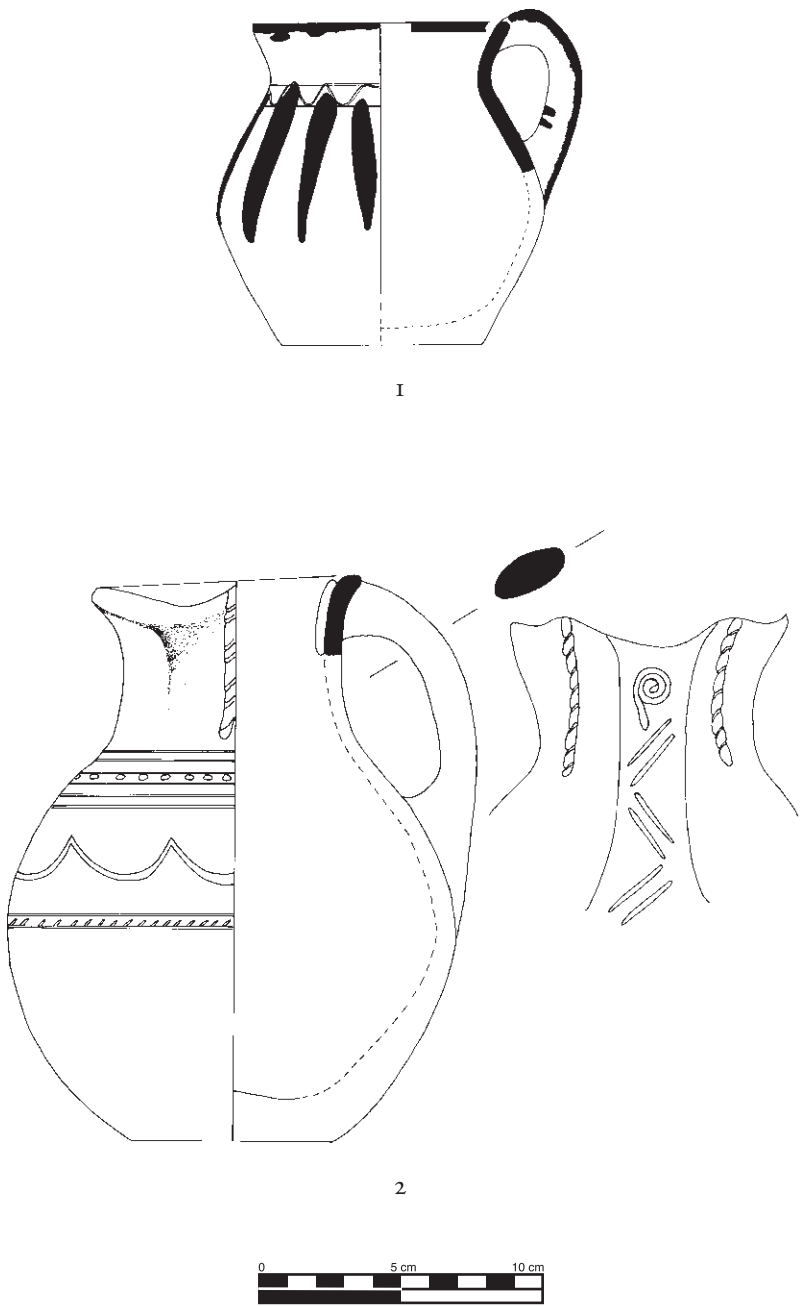


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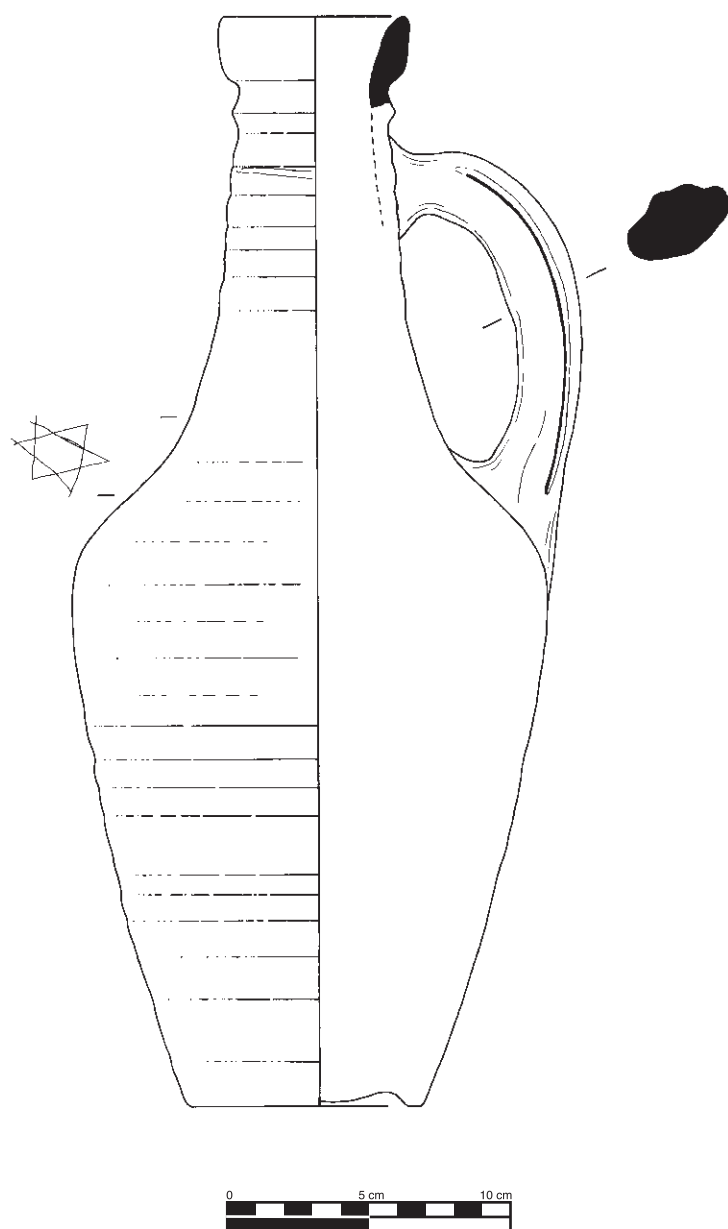


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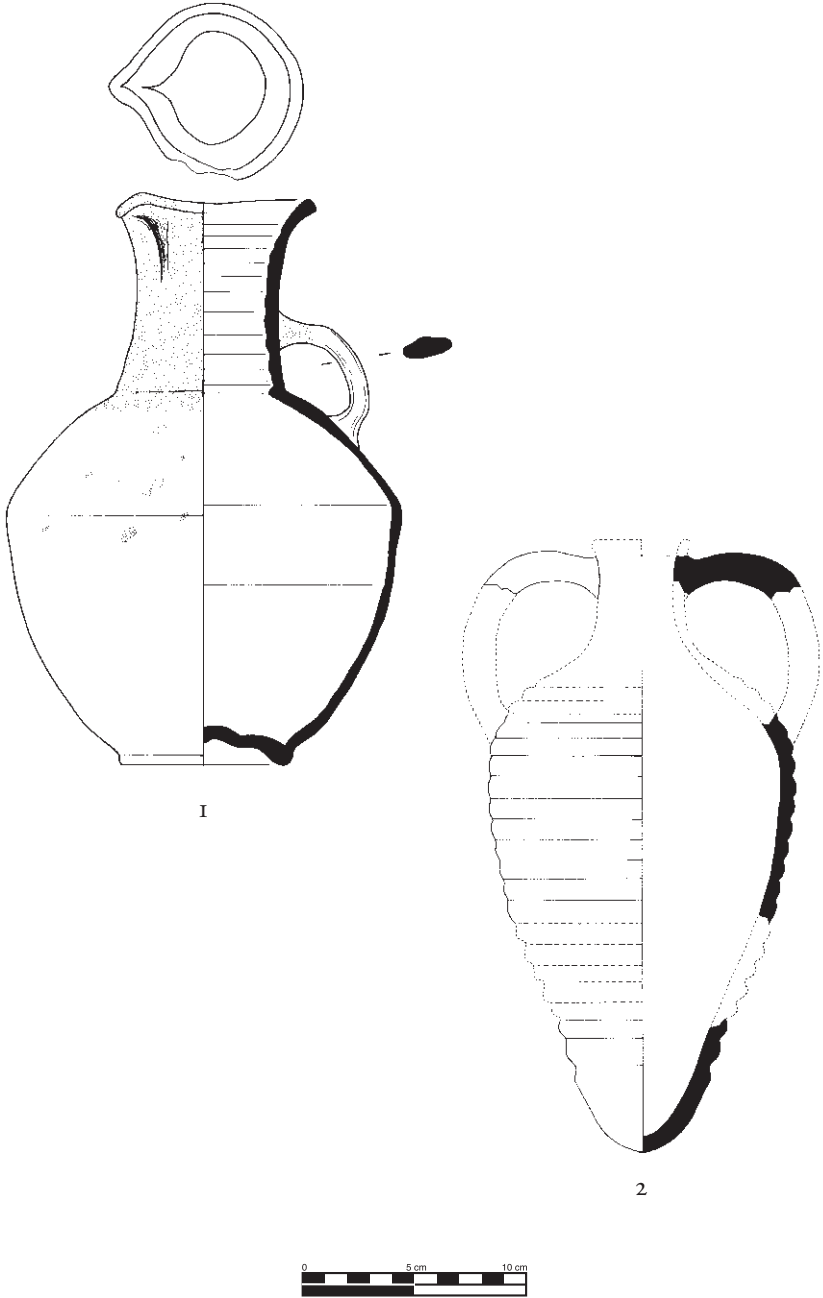


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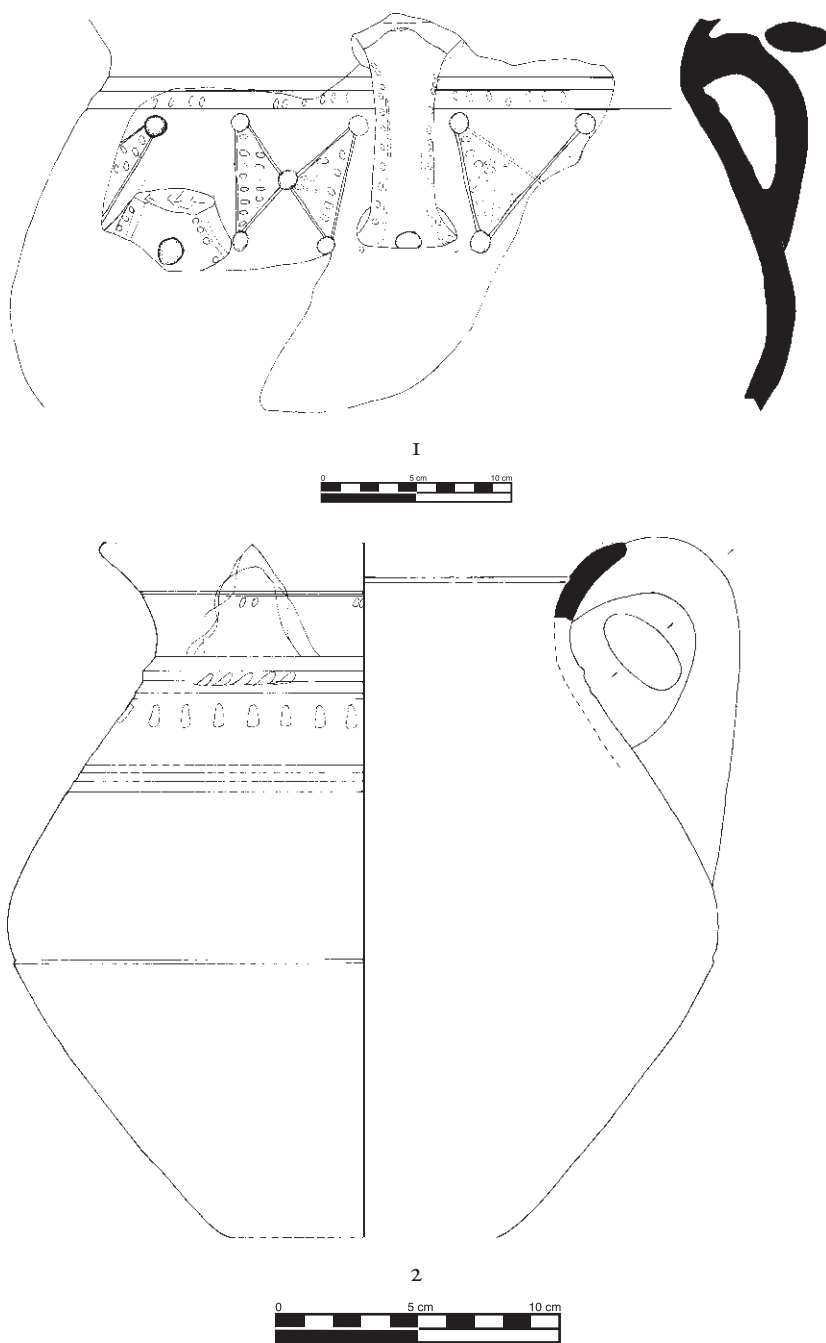
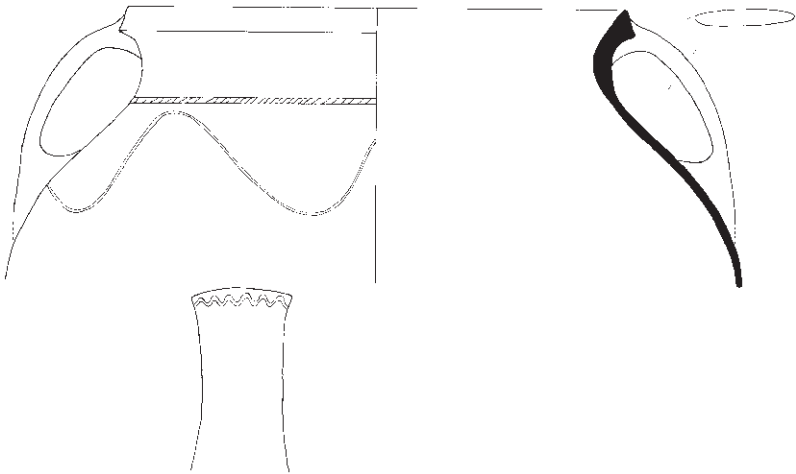


Fig. 38. Cooking Pots.



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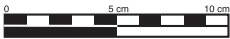
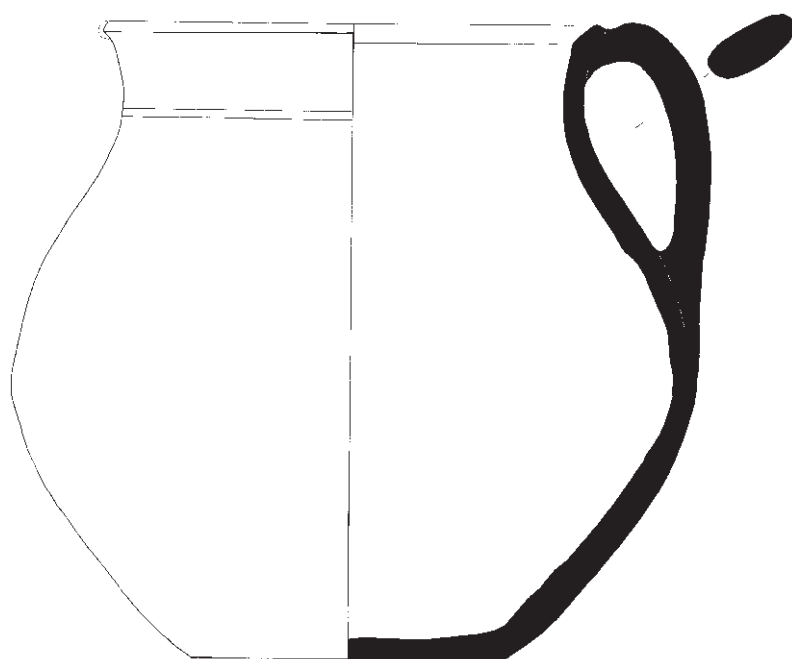
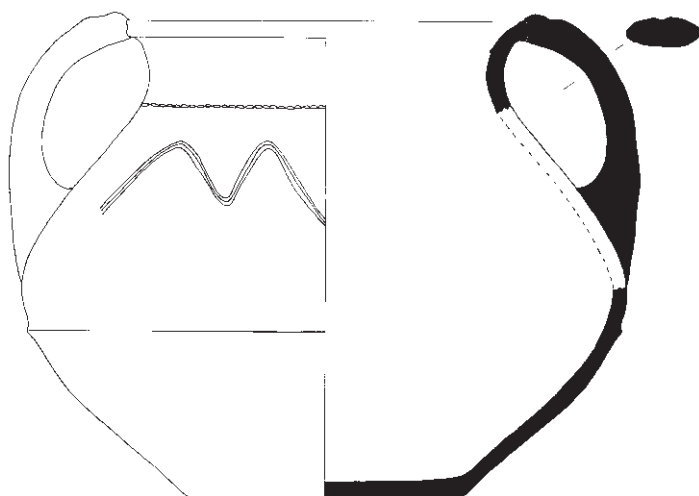


Fig. 39. Cooking Pots.



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Fig. 40. Cooking Pots.

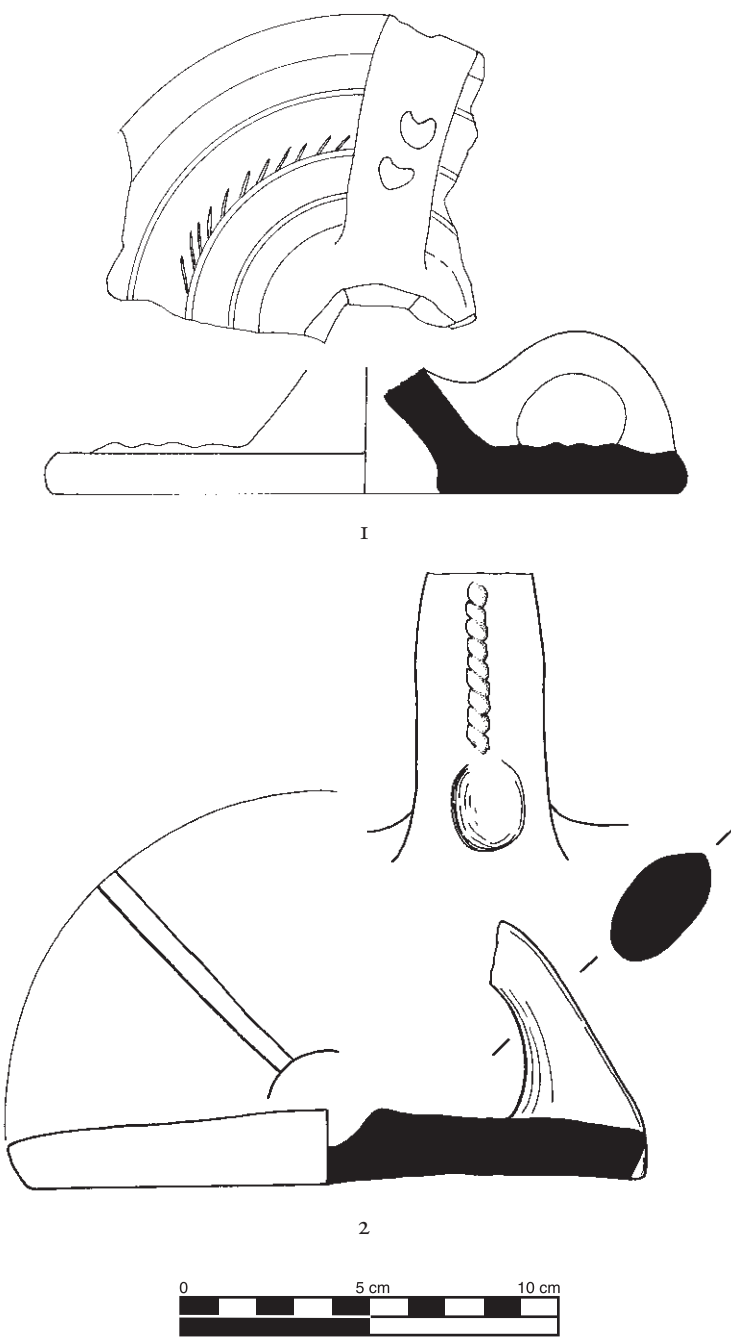


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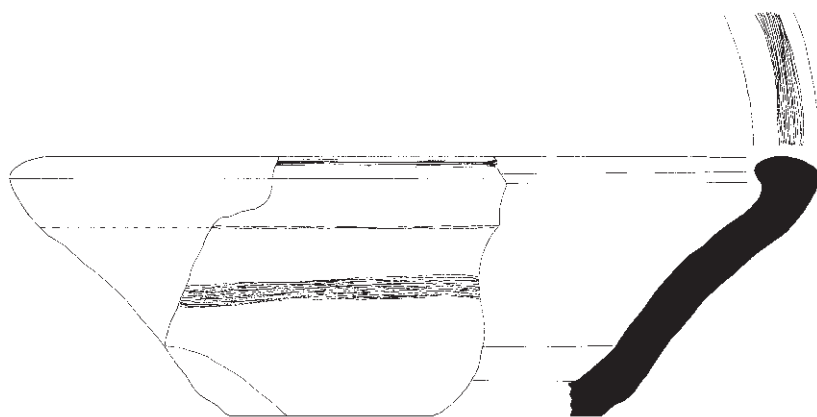


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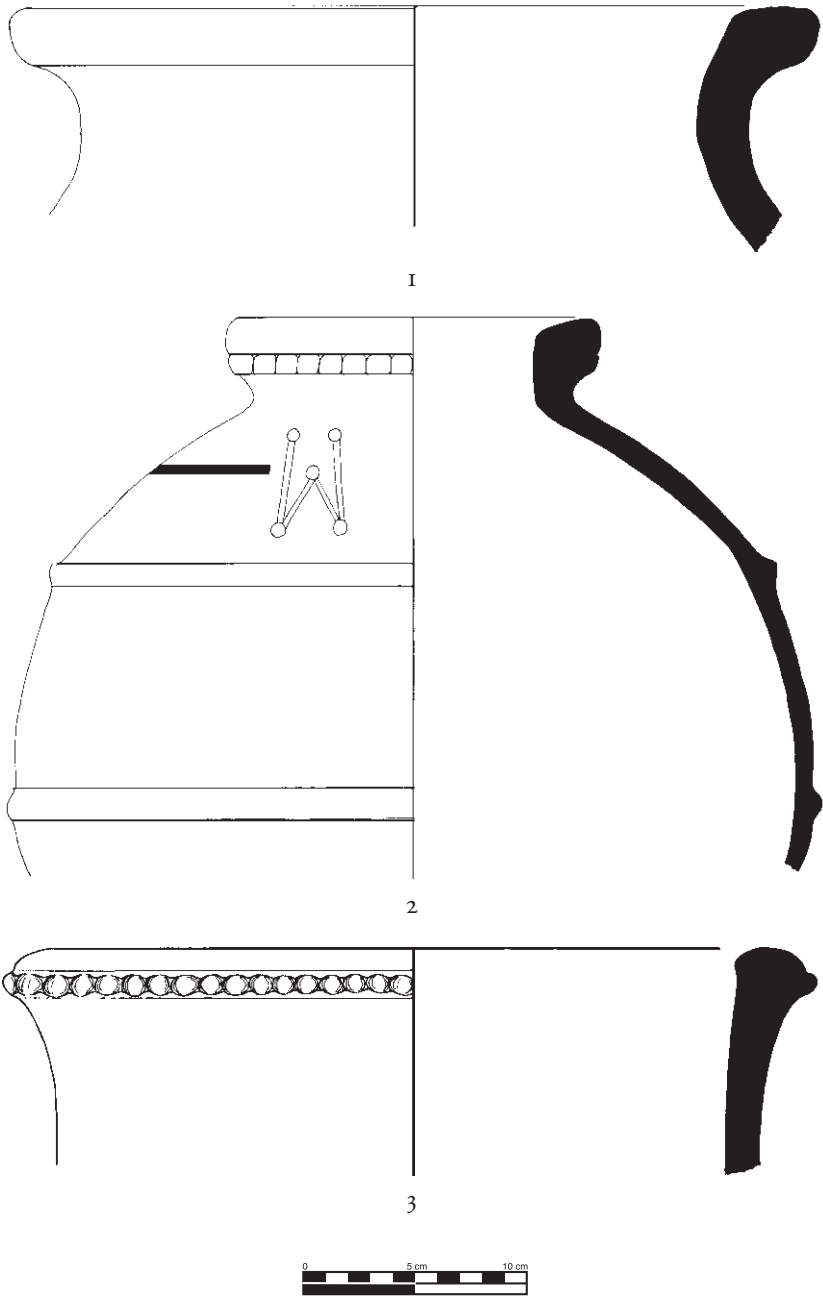


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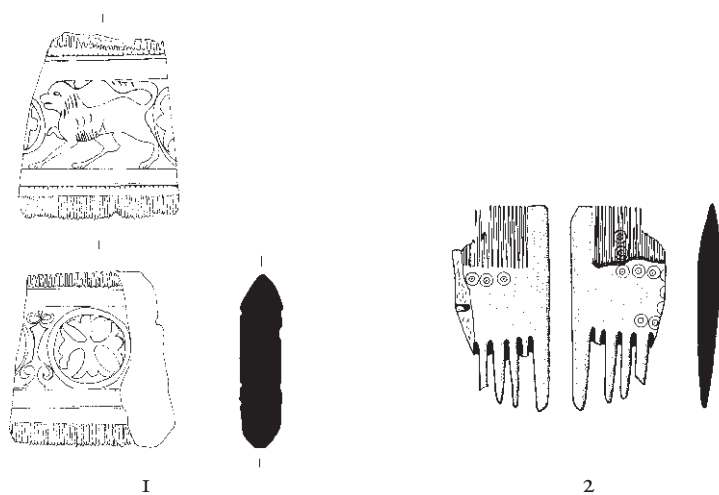


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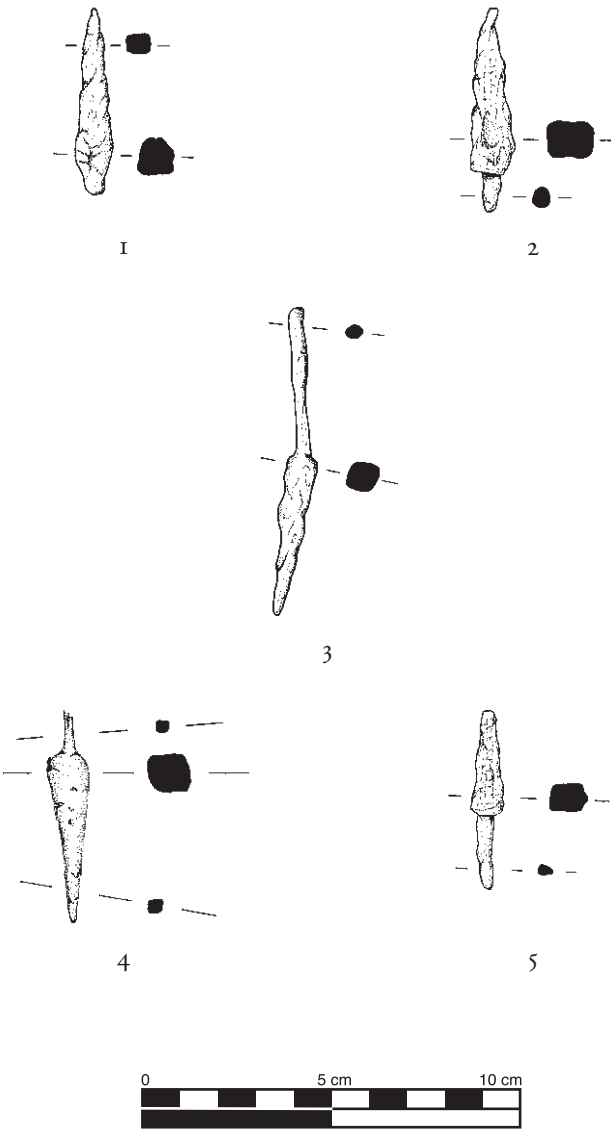


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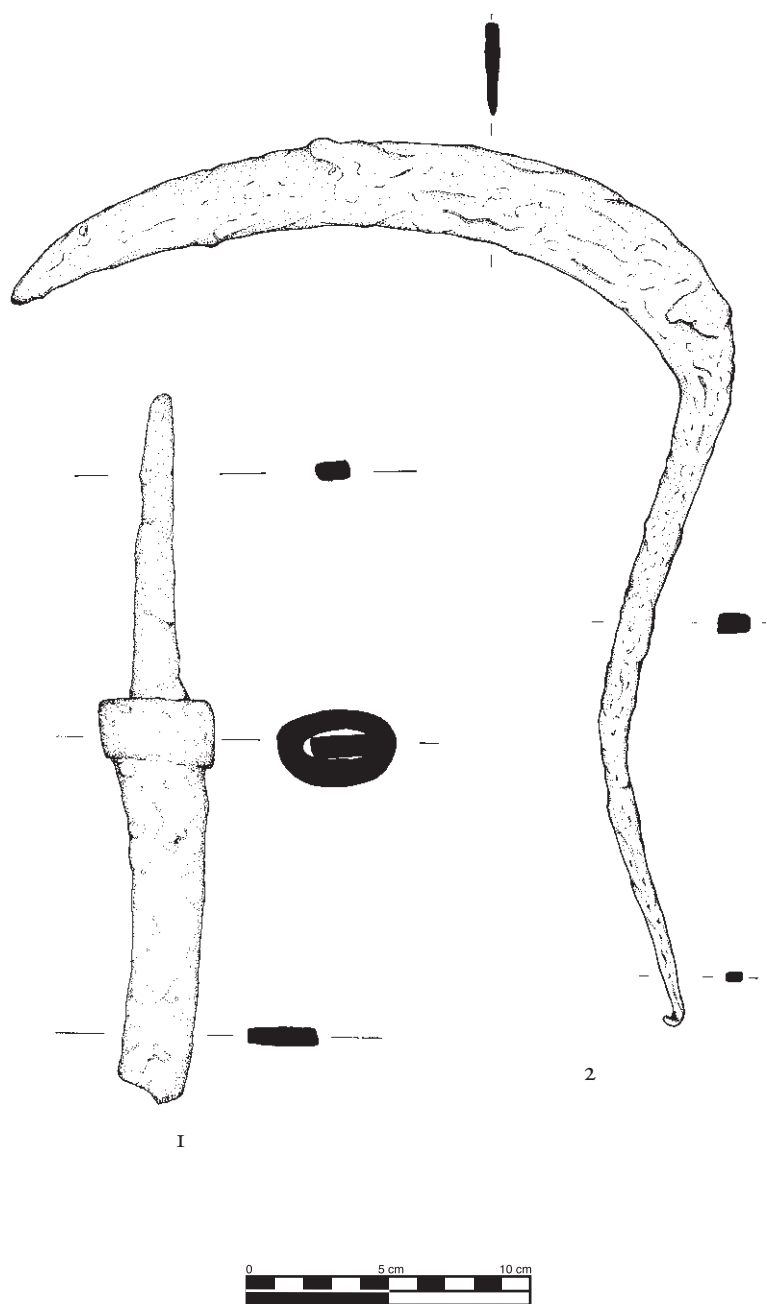


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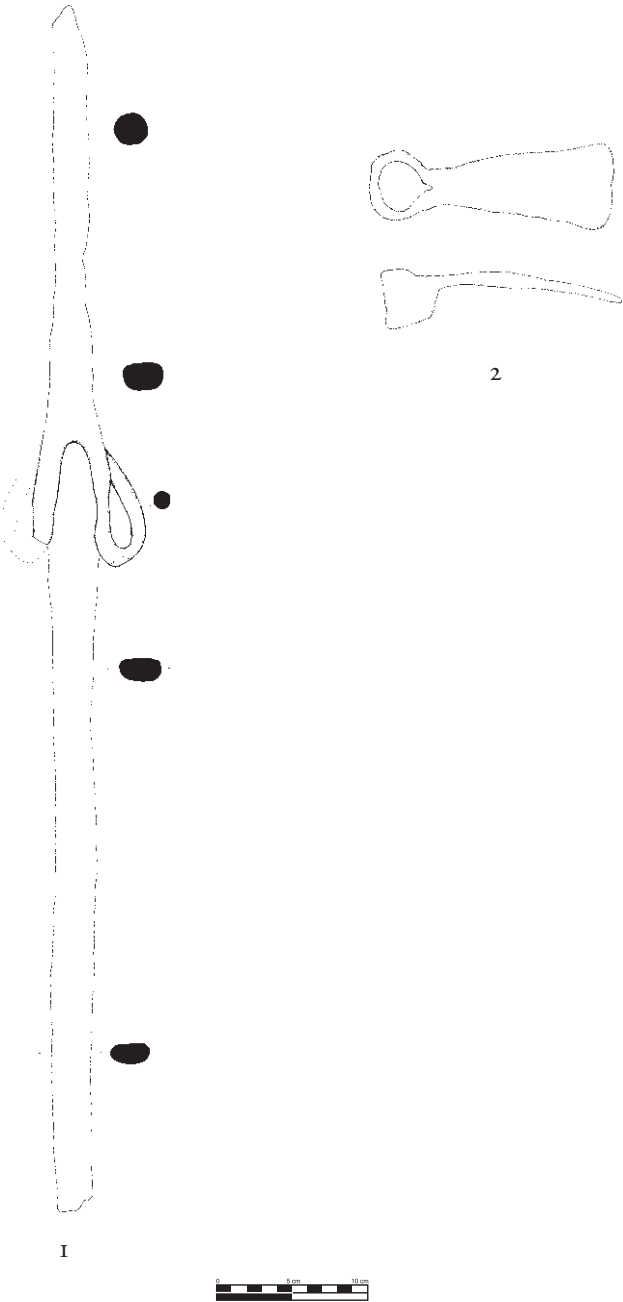


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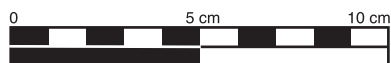
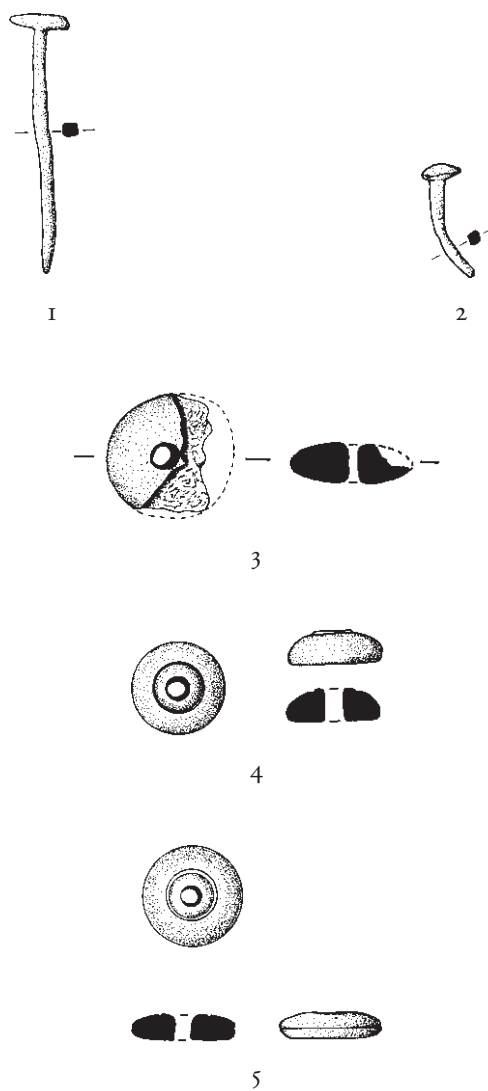


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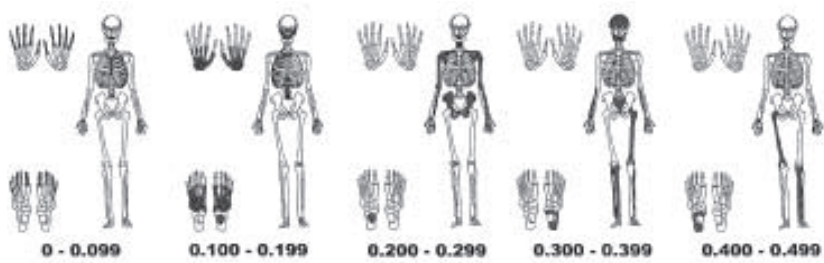


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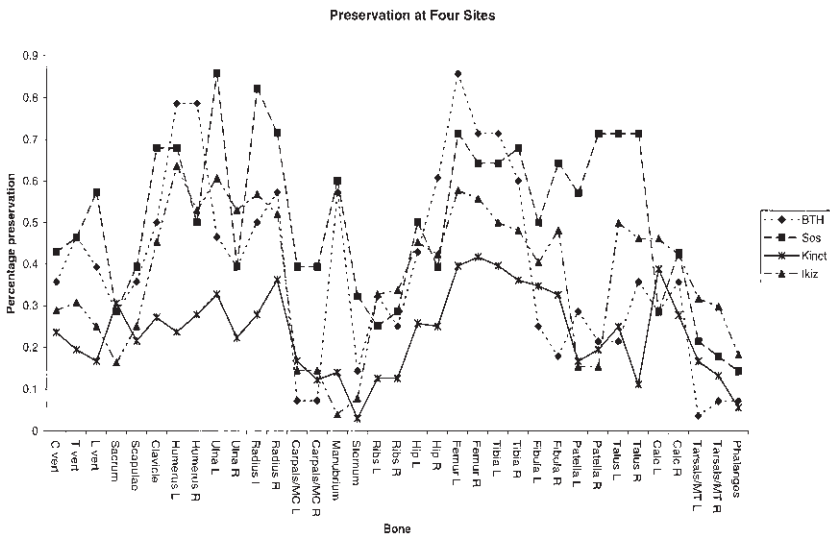


Fig. 50.



# USE OF WATER IN PHOENICIAN SANCTUARIES

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## Abstract

*Since many Phoenician sanctuaries are supplied with one or more natural and/or artificial systems for the provision of water, use of water seems to have played an essential role in their cults and rituals. Several sanctuaries were located near springs or other natural sources of water. And although some water installations may have served to refresh visitors, water did have a special ritual function and water installations in these sanctuaries served special ritual purposes. While not all water installations can definitely be linked with ritual practice, some may be considered as typical fixtures associated with religious worship of certain Phoenician deities. \**

The aim of this paper is to provide an impression of the importance and use of water within Phoenician religious life and its cults. As literary evidence is lacking on this matter, other sources of information, notably archaeological, have been studied. Accordingly, attention is focused on the location of certain Phoenician sanctuaries near different sources of fresh water. The remains of different types of water installations in and around their sacred complexes have also been investigated.

Water is essential in daily life. For humankind water is manifestly symbolic. Running water or 'living water' is believed universally to embody

\* The author would like to express her sincere thanks to both the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO) and the Stichting Fonds Doctor Catharine van Tussenbroek. Their generous contributions have enabled the author both to study sanctuaries in Lebanon and Syria and to give a presentation -of which this article is the result -at the V Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici held at Marsala (Sicily) from 2 to 8 October 2000.

strong magic: the sanctity of a perennial spring or stream is recognised by all non-complex societies.<sup>1</sup> Such water seems to live, for it has both motion and a voice; it gives life when, all around, fields are parched with heat. This is never so evident as in the Syro-Palestinian coastal area where people cherish the never-failing spring or river during the long dry season, which is a normal part of every year.

Nevertheless, a sacred place becomes sacred only when people have become aware of its special function; in the case of water this often concerns the creation of the world. The existence of space that is not profane is generally not regarded as a human choice, but is determined by a manifestation of the presence — or action — of a deity.<sup>2</sup> In the religion of Phoenician cities in the Syro-Palestinian coastal area and their colonies in the Central Mediterranean area, this revelation of the presence or action of a deity often manifested itself in or around springs and streams.<sup>3</sup>

The sanctuaries built nearby indicate that some springs became monumentalised and venerated. The various types of water installations within the different kinds of Phoenician sanctuaries, both in the Levant and in the Mediterranean, indicate that water was used a great deal. While some water installations such as cisterns and canals may have had a more practical than holy character, many water installations served special ritual purposes. We find that there are among others basins, baths, channels, cisterns, drainage pipes, and pools. Most such installations are usually outside buildings, but occasionally they are incorporated directly into a building, often for ritual purposes. Although their actual function may not always be clear, it is mainly their monumental and non-portable appearance that highlights the importance of water usage within Phoenician sanctuaries.

### Springs or other Natural Sources of Water

Monumental Phoenician spring sanctuaries can be found both inside urban centres and in the country. A spring sanctuary in an urban environment is the Early Bronze Age I Baalat sanctuary at Byblos. As its remains are attributed to the 4<sup>th</sup>–early 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC, it is so far the earliest example of an ‘actual’ Canaanite spring sanctuary. The *Breitraum* cella and the spring are both positioned within an enclosure or *temenos*. This same spring might have been the source of the later sacred pool or “*Lac sacré*”

<sup>1</sup> Ninck 1921.

<sup>2</sup> Edlund 1987, pp. 30–34; Eliade 1961, p. 11; Lipinski 1995, p. 422.

<sup>3</sup> Lipinski 1995, p. 423.

between the Early Bronze Age II Baalat temple -replacing the Early Bronze Age I Baalat sanctuary- and the Early Bronze Age Reshef temple, right in the centre of urban Byblos (Fig. 1). At first the spring was used for sacred purposes only, but after the Early Bronze Age I Baalat temple was replaced and a sacred pool was created nearby, the spring was engineered as a public water supply.<sup>4</sup>

Spring sanctuaries in the country are found, for instance, at Amrit, Bostan esh-Sheikh and Afqa. Unlike Byblos, these springs were located outside their related sanctuaries. At Amrit we find two sacred areas both close to a spring. A small sanctuary consisting primarily of two naos placed on a socle was located near the Ain el-Hayat or 'Spring of the Snakes.' Its water fed the little marsh in which the two socles were placed. To the north, the Ma'abed at Amrit seemed to have no less than two sources in its vicinity. The water of the Naba el-Tell, located on the north flank of the mound bordering the Ma'abed, streams out in the Nahr Amrit. The Ma'abed, however, was fed by another spring the exact location of which is so far unknown. Dunand and Saliby suspect that this second source must be located somewhere on the west flank of the neighbouring tell, as the water seems to enter the Ma'abed basin at its eastern side, underneath the rock.<sup>5</sup>

Ayn Ydlal, the spring supplying the sanctuary of Eshmun at Bostan esh-Sheikh, seems to be one, of two examples, where the water has to travel quite a distance through both a subterranean channel and surface water courses before flowing into several installations within the premises of the sanctuary. The other example is the spring at Afqa. The sacred source of the Nahr Ibrahim surges out of an unseen underground fissure within the enormous grotto. The sanctuary of Astarte is built on a platform on the left bank of the river. The water was transported by means of canals and one or more tunnels through the foundations of the sanctuary before flowing into the basin. So far this spring is the only sacred spring from which a stream takes its rise.

To date Phoenician spring sanctuaries have only been found in the Syro-Palestinian coastal area. The fact that they have been identified is because they have been monumentalised. So far no examples have been found of monumental Phoenician spring sanctuaries in the central and West Mediterranean area. Nor do these areas, like the Syro-Palestinian coastal lands, provide evidence of non-monumental spring sanctuaries, perhaps because this type of sanctuary, unlike their contemporary Greek and Roman counterparts, has not been thoroughly studied. Moreover, non-monumental

<sup>4</sup> Saghih 1983; Wright 1985.

<sup>5</sup> Dunand and Saliby 1985, p. 12.

spring sanctuaries are not easy to recognise, often represented merely by a sporadic discovery of votive deposits near springs, from unclear context.<sup>6</sup>

Apart from the early “urban” spring sanctuary at Byblos, all of the “rural” spring sanctuaries are situated near one or more streams. Besides linking the inland with the sea, the streams, sometimes in conjunction with its hilly surroundings, seem to demarcate a sort of boundary. According to Edlund boundary might reflect the need for divine protection.<sup>7</sup>

### Water Installations

Water installations found at Phoenician sanctuaries can be divided into seven main categories:

1. Sacred pool/large irregularshaped basin; 2. Rectangular basin or piscine; 3. Rectangular tub; 4. Cistern; 5. Canals; 6. Pit; 7. Miscellaneous.

#### *Sacred pool/large irregularshaped basin*

This category was possibly reserved for urban sanctuaries only. The sacred pool at Byblos (Fig. 1) and the large, irregularly shaped basin at Kamid el-Loz (Fig. 2) seem, at first glance, to be similar water installations, having in common their large, irregular size and their artificial construction. Both are located outside the actual premises of their respective sanctuaries: the sacred pool at Byblos is surrounded by two sanctuaries (the Early Bronze Age II Baalat temple and the Early Bronze Age temple of Reshef), and the large basin at Kamid el-Loz is located in front of the entrance of the Late Bronze Age West Temple.

Looked at more closely, the sacred pool at Byblos did actually contain water, maybe all year round, and was probably fed by the same spring of the earlier Early Bronze Age I Baalat temple. The area of the sacred pool originally consisted of alluvial soil, hence, it was easy to carve an artificial lake here. No traces of plaster have been found, but both the underlying rock and the surrounding battered wall might have contributed to its “waterproofing”. The pool may have served one or more of the several sanctuaries around it.<sup>8</sup>

On the other hand, the large basin at Kamid el-Loz is dug out into soil and lined with both large untreated stones and large boulders. Although the entire basin could not be excavated owing to the civil war, the excavators

<sup>6</sup> Edlund 1987, pp. 60-61.

<sup>7</sup> Edlund 1987, p. 60.

<sup>8</sup> Saghih 1983, p. 23.

did notice that its base was not sealed. Moreover, there were no traces of plaster or any other sealant that would have made the basin waterproof. The floor was covered with a thick grey brown layer over which was a thick, predominantly ash grey layer mixed with small debris, including charcoal, animal bones and pottery fragments. The remaining overlying deposits showed signs that used water flowed into the basin during the period that this installation was in use.<sup>9</sup>

### *Rectangular basin or piscine*

Perhaps reserved for rural sanctuaries only, this type of basin seems to occur both in Phoenician and Punic sanctuaries outside an urban area. Examples can be found at Afqa, Amrit, Bostan esh-Sheikh and Ras il-Wardija (Gozo). The rectangular basin or 'piscine' is cut into rock or dug into soil and is, apart from the Ma'abed at Amrit, of moderate size. The location of this type of water installation is within the premises of its sanctuary, but outside the actual temple building.

For the description of the basin in the sanctuary of Astarte at Afqa, we depend on reports of ancient travellers and historians.<sup>10</sup> Though they all confirm the presence of a piscine, its exact location is unknown. Possibly, the present-day monumental remains of the temple building, which are ascribed to the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, might indicate a possible location, namely at the foot of the foundations of the temple building, on the riverside. Here one finds three large openings of which two belong to arched tunnels, the largest measuring 1.10 x 1.15 m. The latter opening is connected to a rectangular channel, covered with large tiles. Rouvier suggested that the piscine might have been fed with water from the nearby source of the Nahr Ibrahim through one of these tunnels.<sup>11</sup> So far the remains of this piscine have not been found.

The installation of the Ma'abed, at Amrit, consists of a large rectangular basin, surrounded by a portico on three sides (Fig. 3). The whole complex is cut in the rock, which is quite remarkable considering that the actual basin measures 38.50 x 46.70 m, with a depth of 3.00 to 3.50 m. This basin differs markedly from the other examples. Apart from its size and portico, the basin is one of two with an object placed within, here a *naos*. Rectangular basins or piscines usually play a significant role in the cult and rites, but they are not the most important installation in a sanctuary. However, the basin

<sup>9</sup> Metzger 1991, pp. 170-172.

<sup>10</sup> Ribichini 1981; Rouvier 1900.

<sup>11</sup> Rouvier 1900, pp. 193-194.

at Amrit is the central attraction, or should one say, “it is the sanctuary”?<sup>12</sup> Its monumental remains are attributed to the late 6<sup>th</sup> to mid-4<sup>th</sup> century BC. According to Dunand and Saliby, the basin was fed by water from a source that took its rise underneath the eastern side of the basin.<sup>13</sup> As this source seemed to have had its origin in the mountains, fed by snow and heavy winter rains, the basin probably did dry up during summertime. The channel, cut right through both the rock on the west side of the basin and wall of the adjacent portico, is so far the only example of a facility to dispose of used water from the basin into the nearby stream.

In the sanctuary of Eshmun at Bostan esh-Sheikh several basins have been found.<sup>14</sup> Built and used in different periods, located in different places within the sanctuary and having different sizes, the best-known rectangular basin is the Hellenistic piscine of Astarte (Fig. 4). Measuring approximately 10 x 9 m, its original depth (as high as the upper row above floor level) was 5.70 m. It is the second basin with an object placed within, the so-called “throne of Astarte,” to whom this basin owes its name; the throne originally emerged just above water-level. As seems to be the case with all other basins at Bostan esh-Sheikh, the piscine of Astarte was probably fed by means of canals from the nearby Ayn Ydlal. The basins earlier than the piscine of Astarte were located in less prominent positions with no distinguishing features. All were dug into the soil and lined with large, well-cut rectangular blocks of which the upper row was above floor level (Fig. 5). Taking their location and chronology into account, it seems that with respect to the use of these basins, their location shifts from east to north, and eventually west.

The latest example of a rectangular basin is found in the sanctuary at Ras il-Wardija (Gozo), with an approximate date of 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. The basin is cut in the rock on the south side of the cave’s entrance. Almost square, the basin is nearly 3.0 m deep and has an estimated water capacity of 37.5 m<sup>3</sup>. Along the west wall, a steep flight of ten rock-cut steps was hewn. The edges of all four sides of the basin’s opening are worked. Buhagiar suggests that the worked opening might have been fitted with some sort of roofing arrangement.<sup>15</sup> This would support both Buhagiar’s and Mingazzini’s idea that the basin was in fact a cistern.<sup>16</sup> However, a basin of this size, with an almost square plan, as well as stairs, would be quite

<sup>12</sup> Wagner 1980, pp. 6-7.

<sup>13</sup> Dunand and Saliby 1985, p. 12.

<sup>14</sup> Dunand 1971; Dunand 1973.

<sup>15</sup> Buhagiar 1989, pp. 75-76.

<sup>16</sup> Buhagiar 1989, pp. 75-76; Mingazzini 1976, p. 164.

unusual for a cistern. Moreover, there are no signs of stuccoing. To date, this basin is the only example not fed by a source of living water.

### *Rectangular tub*

The rectangular tub was made of mud brick or limestone. Its shape is comparable to the modern bathtub. In the middle or at one end was a small container, that might have served to collect the last precious drops of water or to collect intrusive dirt, sand or other particles. This type of water installation was placed on the floor and sometimes supported by flat stone slabs. The tub was installed in an uncovered court of the actual temple building that itself was within a sanctuary in an urban settlement.

An example of a mud brick tub is the basin in the West Temple at Kamid el-Loz. Although only part of its base survived, the excavators were able to reconstruct the tub; it was built of mud brick and covered with a thick layer of lime to make it waterproof. Measuring about 2.70 x 1.20 m, the bottom slightly slopes towards a hole (diameter 0.25 m) in the centre under which a jar was placed (Fig. 6). This Late Bronze Age installation was situated with its longest side facing the western wall of an open court.<sup>17</sup>

A limestone tub was found in the Cypro-archaic sanctuary at Kition-Bamboula. This rectangular to oval-shaped tub was significantly smaller and measures 0.17 x 0.64 x 0.97 m. The bottom slopes slightly towards the south end where a round cavity was carved (Fig. 7). At the north end, a small elevation probably served as a sort of bench. Remains of a similar tub were found in an adjacent room.<sup>18</sup> Both tubs at Kamid el-Loz and Kition-Bamboula were placed with their long axis north to south in the middle of an open court.

Though not of Phoenician make, the rectangular to oval-shaped, monolithic basin at Tas Silg is included in this category. Since the remains of this particular Late Bronze Age sanctuary were re-used by the Phoenicians before making any significant alterations, this installation might have been used in their rites as well.<sup>19</sup> Unlike the above mentioned tubs, this basin was installed outside the actual temple building. This monolithic specimen was accompanied by a *baetyl* (Fig. 8). Inside the water installation, along its south side, is a hole similar to the tubs at Kamid el-Loz and Kition-Bamboula.

<sup>17</sup> Metzger 1991, p. 182.

<sup>18</sup> Caubet 1984, p. 112.

<sup>19</sup> Cagiano de Azevedo *et al.* 1973, p. 102.

### *Cistern*

Besides domestic areas, the cistern is also found in sanctuaries. Cut into rock, the cistern seems to be located within the boundary of the sanctuary itself but outside the actual temple building. As rainwater was collected in cisterns, it stands to reason that this type of installation was located in the open outside the actual temple building. The cistern appears both in urban and rural sanctuaries. Considering that examples were found at, among others, Ugarit (temple of Baal), Kition-Bamboula, Carthage Dermech (temple of Baal Hammon), Mozia (Cappiddazzu) and Ras il-Wardija, one may assume that cisterns were common in sanctuaries both in the Levant and in the Central Mediterranean Area. Moreover, sanctuaries with cisterns are located near the sea or a harbour and they lack a spring or other natural source. The use of this type of installation may have been restricted to temple personnel and visitors, as well as to purification and ritual purposes.

### *Canal*

Canals are found in nearly all sanctuaries. Constructed to transport water from a natural source to a large water installation, they also drained used water from temple buildings and/or large water installations. These structures vary from a gully cut into rock, to stone slabs above floor level that formed an uncovered channel, to terracotta pipes and conduits at the surface. This type of installation is found both in- and outside the actual temple building, but always within the grounds of a sanctuary. As all sanctuaries mentioned in this paper seemed to have been provided with one or more of these structures they will not be discussed separately.

### *Pit*

The elliptical pit within the so-called altar enclosure in the harbour sanctuary at Tell Sukas might possibly be connected to the use of water. Apart from three small altars along the surrounding walls of the enclosure, the pit was found accompanied by a *baetyl*. According to the excavators, the walls of this pit seem to be a concretion of sand formed through a period of frequent pouring of a liquid. As the walls of the pit contained a little less iron than the surrounding sand of the floor, the fluid, pouring frequently into the depression, seemed to have been other than blood or wine. This pit has therefore been interpreted as a sacrificial pit, perhaps for water offerings.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Riis 1979, p. 46.



Considerably larger is the pit along the exterior eastern edge of the *temenos* of the Cappiddazzu complex at Mozia. In contradiction to the sacrificial pit at Tell Sukas, this example seemed to have been waterproofed. The opening on the eastern side, with a diameter of 0.06 m, might have released water into the pit. It is assumed that this pit was connected to a nearby cistern, with terracotta pipes of which abundant fragments were found. This pit is of a much later date than the adjacent *temenos* and was in use during part of the Hellenistic period.<sup>21</sup>

Large pits or wells are also to be found within the compounds of sanctuaries. Two pits in separate rooms were situated within the building to the south of the temple at Kition-Bamboula (Fig. 9). The circular pit (137) in room F has a diameter of 0.70 m and a depth of about 4.05 m. Although the upper part has completely vanished, the excavator has linked the pit to the classical level. The walls of the pits are composed of both large irregular pieces of limestone, round boulders and mortar. The second pit (175) in room L is square and, compared to the former, of better construction. Measuring 0.77 x 0.84 m at its opening, this pit has a depth of approximately 4.27 m. The walls are composed of carefully cut stones, all having the same dimension, put in regular layers and fixed with a sort of cement. The upper part was missing as well.<sup>22</sup> Similar pits have been found in the temple of Astarte at Kition-Kathari and in the temple of Baal Hammon at Carthage Dermech.<sup>23</sup> Both examples were located within the actual temple building and are attributed to the Middle to Late Archaic period (7<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> century BC).

Of a different character are the extensive 5<sup>th</sup> century sewerage pits within the sanctuary at Kition-Bamboula. Dug into soil, six 'fossae' are aligned north of a building within the compound of the sanctuary (Fig. 9). The rectangular shape of the fossae, ranging from 1.00 x 1.30 to 2.20 x 0.85 m with an average depth of 1.30 m, gives the impression that they are some kind of cistern or basin comparable to the examples mentioned earlier. However, as their walls and floors lack a waterproof layer of lime or another sealant, the fossae were unsuitable to contain water. It has been suggested that they might have served as drainage for rainwater from the roof,<sup>24</sup> but six rain-pits in a row seems excessive.<sup>25</sup> As the fossae are of solid construction, lined with carefully cut stones, built closely together in a straight line

<sup>21</sup> Ciasca *et al.* 1964, pp. 37–38.

<sup>22</sup> Callot and Salles 1981, p. 64.

<sup>23</sup> Rakob 1991.

<sup>24</sup> Callot and Salles 1981, p. 52 *ff.*

<sup>25</sup> Yon 1982, p. 262.

and just in front of a building within the compound of a sanctuary, one may assume that the fossae are related to the actual function of the building. More likely is that they served as a sort of discharge pit for used water from the adjacent building, comparable to the irregular shaped basin near the entrance of the West Temple at Kamid el-Loz. Apart from one fossa, all others were connected to the interior of the building by conduits through which used water might have been discharged. Even so, this explanation does not satisfactorily account for their large size and number, when one would have been sufficient.

### *Miscellaneous*

At Kamid el-Loz, a stone cask was placed near the entrance from room B to C in the East Temple. The damaged cask has survived to 0.45 m high. Judging by its diameter (0.77 m) and wall thickness (0.12 m), its location near the entrance might have been a permanent one (Fig. 10).<sup>26</sup> Another stone receptacle, a bowl of limestone, was found among other water installations in the same room as the rectangular tub in the sanctuary at Kition-Bamboula.<sup>27</sup> Also of limestone is a set of about fifteen square to rectangular troughs near the south-east angle of the temple of Dagon at Ugarit. They are arranged in different groups, triangular-shaped positions or in a straight line, and placed in such a way to enable water to flow from trough to trough.<sup>28</sup>

### **Use of Water in Phoenician Sanctuaries**

We now need to look more closely at the actual function of the various water installations in Phoenician sanctuaries. The function of some water installations is more likely to have been practical rather than for sacred purposes, whereas others seem to have had a more holy character. Even though some water installations seem to be prominent in and around sanctuaries, there may not always have been a single common use for these installations.

The actual purpose of the sacred pool or irregular-shaped basin is not easy to explain. A sacred pool is usually connected with the offering of votive objects to the deity of the sanctuary. So far, there is no evidence that

<sup>26</sup> Metzger 1991, p. 158.

<sup>27</sup> Caubet 1984, 113.

<sup>28</sup> Calvet 1981, p. 37; A large number of similar stone trays have also been found at the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Old Paphos (Cyprus), as Mrs. Tatton Brown pointed out in her communication "Cyprus and Phoenicia" at the V Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici, held at Marsala (Sicily) from 2 to 8 October 2000.

objects of any kind were put in the sacred pool at Byblos. The fragments of animal bones and pottery mixed with little particles of charcoal and other debris in one of the stratigraphic layers of the basin at Kamid el-Loz can hardly be considered as votive objects. Therefore their function might possibly be related to their non-waterproof status and to their proximity to other types of adjacent installations.

The sacred pool at Byblos contained living water provided by nearby natural sources, whereas the large irregularly shaped basin of Kamid el-Loz seemed to have served as a large discharge pit, a receptacle for used water from the temple building. Discarded water flowed through two channels (074 and 075), connecting the entrance of the West Temple and the basin. Although totally different in shape and layout, the possible function of this basin might be compared to the sewer at Kition-Bamboula which also seemed to have drained used water from an adjacent building within the boundary of its sanctuary as discussed earlier.

Zwikel, in determining the function of "*des ehernen Meeres*" of the temple of Solomon, proposes that installations such as at Byblos and Kamid el-Loz might be compared to the so-called "cosmic sweet water ocean" in Mesopotamian religion. According to the ancient Oriental world picture, a sweet water ocean was located both underneath earth and above heaven, which by means of sources (spring or otherwise) or rain, provided the earth with life giving water. The same name, "sweet water ocean" or *apsû*, is given to similar cult basins, suggesting that the basin is a representation of a "sweet water ocean".<sup>29</sup>

Considering both the earlier mentioned practical use of the installation at Kamid el-Loz, as well as the hereafter discussed function of the installation at Byblos, Zwikel's theory seems rather absurd. Supposing that ritual purification and ablution was a common fact in Phoenician cults, the provision of water supplies for this was inevitable in sanctuaries. Cleansing would be necessary on approaching the sanctuary, both ritual and physical (perhaps the two go together). As the sacred pool at Byblos was located outside the actual premises of the two surrounding sanctuaries, it might have served both for purification and ablution purposes. Yet, its outdoor position, especially in an urban area, makes one question its sacred qualities.

The rectangular basin or piscine may have been associated with healing and purification. In contemporary societies it was customary for patients seeking a cure in the temple, to perform preliminary purification rites.<sup>30</sup> It is likely that such rites were carried out in Phoenician sanctuaries. The priority of ritual bathing is evident in the bathing facilities within the premises

<sup>29</sup> Zwikel 1999, pp. 128-132.

<sup>30</sup> Avalos 1995, p. 57 ff.

of their sanctuaries. Washing, immersion or bathing in sacred and therapeutic baths, fed with spring water, was practised at least at Afqa, Amrit and Bostan esh-Sheikh: these sanctuaries had one or more basins available for this ritual.

Although the evidence for this practice at Afqa is of recent date, it is possible that a similar ritual was performed in the pre-Roman era: ill children were brought to the sanctuary to wash them with water flowing out of one of the arched tunnels into the piscine.<sup>31</sup> The basins at Bostan esh-Sheikh were also used for the immersion and bathing of ill children. The large basin with surrounding portico at Amrit might have served other purposes than supplying extensive ritual bathing facilities. Although the sanctuary and its spring water were known for its healing qualities, the facilities seem to have been focused on the incubation of patients as well as the consumption of its sacred water. Ritual baths may also have been the function of the smaller rectangular tubs found at Kamid el-Loz and Kition-Bamboula.

To ensure purity, ritual sprinkling was often required before entering a sacred area or taking part in a sacrificial rite. Special water basins were placed in or near the entrance to sanctuaries to mark the transitional passage from secular to sacred activities. The stone cask in the doorway of the East Temple at el-Loz is so far the only example of a special water basin placed in entrances of Phoenician sanctuaries. Cultic purification of divine images might have taken place as well, considering the examples of a baetyl placed next to the sacrificial pit at Tell Sukas and the monolithic basin at Tas Silg.

Based on ancient literary sources, the basin at Afqa may also have served as a sort of water oracle: every year offerings were made to the deity to whom the sanctuary was dedicated. Votive objects were thrown into the water to please the deity in order to secure their favour. When a supplicant's offerings, even those made of metal, would remain floating on the surface of the water, it was predicted that no problems would occur in the coming year. If the offering sank to the bottom of the basin, their prosperity was threatened.<sup>32</sup>

### Deities and Use of Water in Phoenician Sanctuaries

Is it possible, on the basis of this preliminary examination of water installations within a Phoenician sanctuary, to determine whether its use and meaning varied with the divinity worshipped, and, therefore, with the type of ritual performed?

<sup>31</sup> Rouvier 1900, p. 195.

<sup>32</sup> Ribichini 1981, p. 161; Rouvier 1900, p. 189.

Spring sanctuaries located in the countryside such as Afqa, Amrit, and Bostan esh-Sheikh seem to have been dedicated to the deities Astarte and Eshmun. So too are sanctuaries with one or more rectangular basins, which is not surprising as these sacred places are also spring sanctuaries. The worship of Astarte and Eshmun seem to have been associated with sacred water, which played a central role in ceremonies and rituals performed at their holy places. Temples to Eshmun, a deity identified with healing and medicine, naturally had water installations with healing purposes. Sanctuaries where one or more tubs were installed (*ie.* Kamid el-Loz, Kition-Bamboula and Tas Silg) were dedicated to Anat and, again, Astarte, both identified with fertility, prosperity and love.

At this stage it is not clear how these water installation were used in regard to the deities worshipped at these particular sanctuaries. As to other types of water installations, such as cisterns, structures for canalisations and large pits or wells, they seem to be quite common. Moreover, it is difficult to determine whether they can be attributed to a single deity or cult. And because similar installations do exist in domestic environments as well, it is very unlikely that these can be linked to any deity at all.

## Conclusions

Since many Phoenician sanctuaries are supplied with one or more natural and/or artificial systems for the provision of water, use of water seems to have been essential in both their cults and the performance of rituals. The presence of springs and streams seems to have been a determining factor in positioning of certain sanctuaries within the landscape. Springs may have been symbolic for the yearly cycles of life, death and rebirth, as they seem to be active for only part of the year drying up at the end of the summer. This annual cycle may have symbolised the abolition of personal sins, the rectification of health and fertility problems, and may have embodied the actual meaning of ritual purifications. Although not all water installations can definitely be linked with ritual use, some may be pivotal to the cults and rituals of certain Phoenician deities.

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Fig. 1. Location of the sacred pool between EB II Baalat temple and the EB Reshef temple behind the trees (*photograph by the author*)

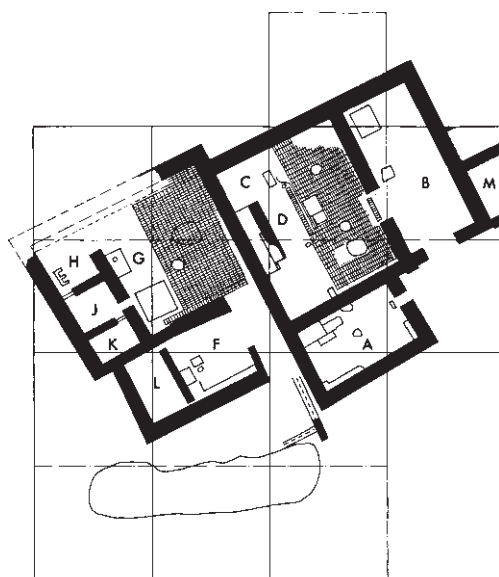


Fig. 2. Large irregular shaped basin, Kamid el Loz (after Metzger 1991)





Fig. 3. Ma'abed at Amrit (*photograph by the author*)



Fig. 4. Piscine of Astarte, Bostan esh-Sheikh (*photograph by the author*)



Fig. 5. Rectangular basins, Bostan esh-Sheikh (*photograph by the author*)

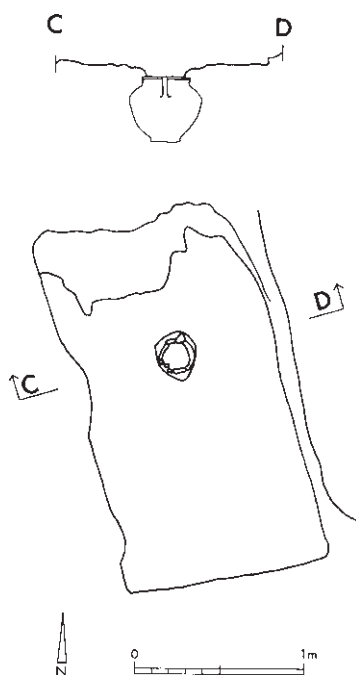


Fig. 6. Mudbrick tub at West Temple, Kamid el-Loz (after Metzger 1991)

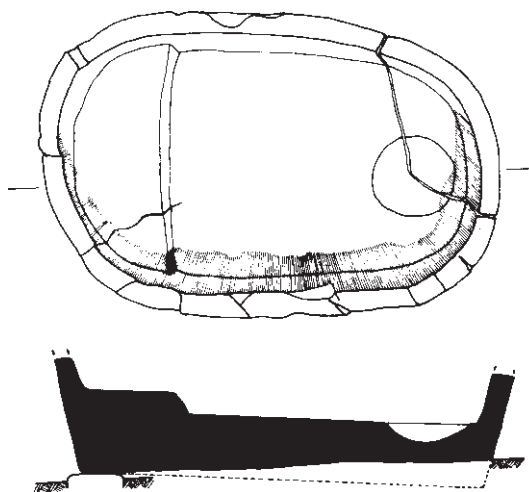


Fig. 7. Limestone tub, Kition-Bamboula (after Caubet 1984)



Fig. 8. Monolithic basin, Tas Silg (after Busuttill *et al.* 1969)

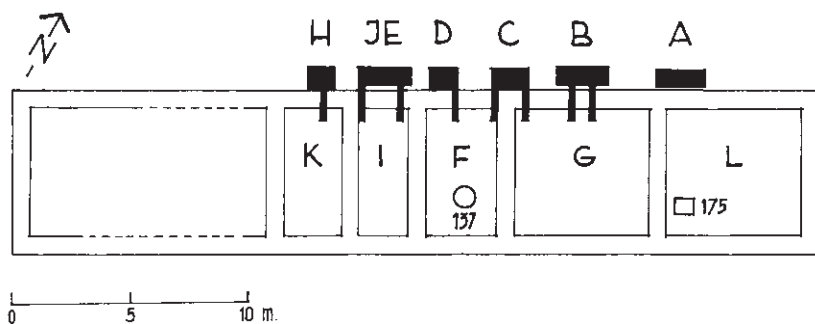


Fig. 9. Pits and fossae, Kition-Bamboula (after Callot and Salles 1981)



Fig. 10. Stone cask at entrance from room B to C, East Temple at Kamid el-Loz (after Metzger 1991)

# Evolution of the Zoroastrian Iconography and Temple Cults

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## Abstract

*The Gathas of Zoroaster does not refer to any iconography or temples. Indeed, a doctrinal aversion to such rituals can be detected in his teachings. His seven abstract and amorphic Amesha Spentas, for example, are probably the first purely conceptual deities with a built-in deterrent to artistic representation. His prescribed places of daily rituals, moreover, are mountaintops and riverbanks, and not temples.*

*Such devotional purity and simplicity is also confirmed by the lack of hardly any archaeological evidence to the contrary in the prophet's homeland in Eastern Iran. This is also the case in the pre-imperial period in Western Iran, where the centre of religion moved early in the first millennium BC. Assyrian annals and many classical writers also confirm that Medes and early Achaemenians did not have any cult statues and temples.*

*The latter, however, soon after forming the first world empire, developed the many aspects of, by now, familiar Zoroastrian iconography. This was inspired, no doubt, by the artistic repertoire of their western subjects, such as the Babylonians, Elamites, Greeks and Egyptians. Nor could the Achaemenians refrain, towards the end of their rule, from building temples, both to house their own sacred fire, and the alien-inspired divine images.*

*These two distinct temple cults, established around 400 BC, appear to have spread throughout the Achaemenian, and later, the Parthian Empires. Their religious significance was not challenged until the iconoclastic Sasanians (224-637 AD) removed the divine images from their temples. However, the fire-temples and religious iconography have remained permanent features of the Zoroastrian devotional life since the Achaemenian times.*



## Doctrinal and Historical Backgrounds

Many scholars, probably the majority, date Zoroaster to the early second millennium BC. This would make him the earliest of the great thinkers, and the first of the great prophets. He is, therefore, credited with initiating the many basic religious principles now taken for granted. The list is truly formidable. Indeed, with him the use of the adjective “first” becomes very repetitive: the first revealed faith, the first moralist, the first eschatologist. He taught us such prominent concepts as the Heaven and Hell and the Limbo, the Final and Individual Days of Judgment, the coming of the Messiah, Resurrection, and such routine duties as prayers, ablution, sermons, confession of sins, seeking repentance and many other sacred rituals.<sup>1</sup> Nonetheless, in spite of all the fundamental doctrines attributed to him, his teachings lack in some elementary and practical concepts expected from a great faith. For example, in the surviving verses of the Gathas, believed to be his personal contribution to the texts of the Avesta, there is no reference to imagery, or to any building, whether devotional or sepulchral.<sup>2</sup>

Hence, to an orthodox Mazda-worshipper, adhering strictly to the Gathas, the very concept of “iconography and temple cults” must be an anathema. The great prophet himself, after all, does not seem to have encouraged such religious paraphernalia. This doctrinal aversion to imagery could perhaps be deduced from one of his extra ordinary innovations, the seven abstract and amorphic deities, the *Amesha Spentas*, bounteous immortals.<sup>3</sup> They probably constitute the first purely conceptual pantheon with a built-in deterrent to artistic representation. In addition to these abstract and amorphic deities, his prescribed venues for daily rituals are natural sites, such as, mountain tops and river banks, *i.e.*, not temples or icons. We are therefore, faced with a faith requiring devotion in its purest and simplest form.

<sup>1</sup> In view of the above, it seems so irrational and unjust, indeed it defies common sense, that a man who has made such an indelible impression on our lives is now all but forgotten by his *material world*. The italic here, incidentally, denotes yet another first: He was the first prophet to make a distinction between the material and the spiritual world.

<sup>2</sup> Outside the *Gathas* in the *Yashts*, a number of pre-Zoroastrian gods and Iranian heroes have been physically portrayed. Moreover, the *Vendidad* describes three consecutive sepulchral buildings: *Katas*, *Daxmas*, and ossuaries, housing the corpse, respectively, before, during and after the exposure. There is, however, no mention of a constructed place of worship anywhere in the Avesta.

<sup>3</sup> *Spenta Mainyu* (bounteous spirit), *i.e.*, Ahura Mazdah himself, *Vohu Manah* (good thoughts), *Asha Vahishua* [best *Asha* (the Cosmic Order and righteousness)], *Xshathra Vairya* (desirable dominion), *Spenta Armaiti* (bounteous devotion), *Haurvatāt* (wholeness), and *Ameretāt* (immortality).

This requirement seems to have been rigorously observed, for a long time, not only in Eastern Iran, abbreviated to “the East”, which embodies the birth place of the prophet somewhere in south western Siberia, but also in Western Iran, “the West”, where the centre of the religion moved early in the first millennium BC.

### Lack of Clear Evidence from the Earlier Periods

As late as the last decades of the Median Empire, *i.e.*, the mid sixth century BC, archaeology is of little help in providing any direct and irrefutable evidence for even the establishment of the faith in the West. The Iranian religion as yet possessed no temples or any written liturgy.<sup>4</sup> Its supreme “Wise Lord” and the lesser abstract deities did not lend themselves to any artistic representation. Even the anthropomorphic gods of the old faith do not appear to have inspired any religious iconography.<sup>5</sup> None of its many rituals, such as the veneration of fire, had yet been artistically reproduced. It seems, therefore, that for many centuries after its arrival in the West, Zoroastrianism possessed hardly any religious symbolism or imagery. Moreover, by banning burial, the faith has denied the archaeologists an indispensable tool of their profession, *i.e.*, tombs, coffins, sarcophagi, grave goods, and of course, integral skeletal remains.<sup>6</sup> Such dearth of archaeological evidence is corroborated by the surviving literary records:

1. There is no reference in the Gathas to any religious and funerary buildings or symbols.
2. Ancient Indian observance, so similar to Zoroastrian rituals, was also without temples.
3. In Assyrian annals, there is no record of pillage from any Median sanctuary, shrine, sepulchral monument or temple.
4. Many classical writers like Heraclitus of Ephesus, Herodotus, Cicero, and Strabo report that even the early Persians conducted their worship without images and temples. Heraclitus ridiculed men who prayed to statues, with a vigour equal to that of the Jews and Muslims.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The Holy Texts were transmitted orally, and written down much later, probably not until the late Sasanian times.

<sup>5</sup> Pre-Zoroastrian Iranians possessed, both in the East and the West, a sophisticated pantheon, with remarkable similarity to that of the Indians. Many old deities were incorporated into the new, reformed Zoroastrian faith.

<sup>6</sup> Excarinated bones, after the exposure of the corpse, once bleached in the sun and totally desiccated, could in certain circumstances be collected and kept in small elaborate ossuaries.

<sup>7</sup> West 1971, pp. 165-202, esp. p. 192.



Herodotus (1.132) praised the Persians for not worshipping statues and not having any temples. Cicero (*De Republica* 3.9.14) states that Xerxes after the fall of Athens thought it “a sacrilege to keep the gods, who dwell in the whole universe, shut up within walls” and that “Persians considered representation of sacred statues in human form a wicked custom.”

### Available Archaeological Evidence

Medes and early Achaemenians may have indeed observed their national faith in its purest form.<sup>8</sup> The latter, however, soon after forming the first world empire in history, proved to be more pragmatic. Inspired by the artistic repertoire of their western subjects, such as the Elamites, Babylonians, Greeks and Egyptians, it didn't take the Persians very long to create the many aspects of, by now, familiar Zoroastrian iconography (see Part One). Nor could they refrain, towards the end of their rule, from committing the sacrilege of building temples, not only to house the sacred fire, but also the divine images (see Part Two).

### Part One: Examples of Zoroastrian Iconography

The three examples of Zoroastrian iconography given below are the earliest and the most important religious symbols ever evolved in the West. The first and the third examples acquired, in addition an unprecedented and enduring political significance.

#### 1) *Xvarenah* (the anthropomorphic winged disc) Figs 1-2

Avestan *Xvarenah* (Median *\*farnah*, Middle Persian *Fravahar*, Modern Persian *Forouhar*), a pre-Zoroastrian divine fire and water concept, became synonymous with kings' celestial fortune, and his divine mandate to wield political authority. Indeed, an entire *Yasht* (Yt. 19) is dedicated to this deity, in which it is normally portrayed as a bird, particularly a falcon (*e.g.*, Yt. 19, 34-38). By the early Achaemenian period, probably even earlier, it had acquired an icon in its well known shape. This idea was borrowed directly from the Assyrians, who had already added a human figure to the originally Egyptian winged disc. This image was depicted throughout the empire, on

<sup>8</sup> However, the Achaemenians (and probably even the Medes) did not have any qualms about burying their dead in elaborately decorated mausoleums.

rock reliefs, coins and seals, shown usually hovering above the monarch's head. This led some early archaeologists to interpret it as the image of Ahura Mazdah.<sup>9</sup> At the end of the 19th century, modern Zoroastrians adopted it as the official symbol of their faith.

## 2) *Baresman* (bundle of sacred rods) Figs 3-5

Another recurrent device, also used from the Achaemenian times onwards, was a man holding a bundle of rods, the Avestan *Baresman* (Middle Persian *Barsom*). The *Baresman* was apparently by origin a handful of twigs on which the sacrifice was laid, and its use goes back (as the Brahmanic parallels show) to proto-Indo-Iranian, or probably even to Indo-European times.<sup>10</sup> This practice was evidently adopted by the new faith to accompany certain prayers. It later formed an important element of the religious iconography created by the Persians under the artistic influence of their western subjects.

## 3) *Fire-altars* Figs 6-7

Fire is an essential element in the mythology of the Indo-European peoples. Many irrefutable archaeological and historical evidence testify to its veneration by the Indians, Greeks, and several other members of this group.<sup>11</sup> However, the prominence given to fire by Zoroaster is unprecedented in its scope and originality. In Zoroastrian cosmogony, fire is created by *Asha Vahishta* (best *Asha*), with the help of the old Iranian fire-god, *Ātar*. Fire is, therefore, the primary element of *Asha*, the cosmic order, which controls the material world, and represents the moral standards and righteousness by which the mortals are judged.

One could logically expect from the above that the Gathas should have contained references to a consecrated fire, and to a sacred place for its safe-keeping. It is also reasonable to assume that at least a primitive temple cult of fire must have existed in early Zoroastrian times which gradually developed into the modern fire-temples. Unfortunately, one cannot substantiate either of these two assumptions with irrefutable evidence. In the surviving verses of the Gathas, there is no reference to a consecrated fire, or to a spe-

<sup>9</sup> Ghirshman 1954, p. 161, fig. 59.

<sup>10</sup> cf. Latin *fuscis* (Greek Φυκῆλος, English *faggot*) "bundle of wooden rods", carried by lictors before a consul as the symbol of the king's authority.

<sup>11</sup> For Indians, *Agni*, the fire-god of the hearth, possessed the dual aspect of being venerated for itself, and consuming the offerings on behalf of other gods. *Hestia*, the Greek goddess of the hearth, was the centre of the daily life. Her ever-burning fire was carried away to rekindle fires in her temples throughout the Greek colonies.

cial building or container to house, support, hold or transport it. The second assumption would also be challenged by a variety of literally and archaeological evidence. Many scholars believe that there were no Zoroastrian fire temples before 400 BC (the significance of this date will be discussed in Part Two).<sup>12</sup> Nonetheless, there is little doubt about the existence of an Iranian fire cult (not to be confused with a “temple cult of fire”) in pre-Zoroastrian times.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, in spite of the lack of reference in the Gathas, one must assume that such veneration was strengthened further by the teachings of Zoroaster.

The reverence of fire by the Achaemenians is attested in many ways, and most strikingly by the carving above the mausoleum of Darius the Great.<sup>14</sup> This well-known relief, repeated above each of his successors’ tombs, shows the king standing in an attitude of reverence before a blazing fire, raised in an altar. Blazing fire in such a holder, often with worshippers beside it, became from then on a standard element in Zoroastrian iconography. It appears on Achaemenian carvings and seals, and as a fixed device on the reverse of the Persis and Sasanian coins. Many carvings from the Achaemenian and Sasanian periods, and countless seals and coins depict the king standing before a pedestal supporting a flaming fire. Fragments of some of these fire-holders have actually been found in Pasargadae, and dated to the sixth century BC. They are waist-high (112 cm) with a bowl hollowed out 42 cm, which is deep enough to hold a thick bed of hot ash, therefore, capable of sustaining an ever-burning fire.<sup>15</sup> Such fire-holders were evidently representative of the kings’ own hearth or personal fires. Later, they became the monarchs’ dynastic or regnal fires. These fires were put out during the king’s funeral (Diodorus of Sicily 17.114.4) and rekindled at the succession of his heir.<sup>16</sup> It is assumed that fire-holders were surmounted by a metal fire-bowl, as the examples from Pasargadae show no signs of charring. This would have enabled the fire to be moved. Quintus (3.3.9) describes the army of Darius III carrying a fire upon a silver altar at the head of its march. Xenophon (*Cyropaedia* 8.3.12) states that Cyrus the Great’s army carried fire in a brazier. The same emperor is believed to have moved his father’s fire from Anshan, the provincial Achaemenian capital, to Pasargadae, the newly-built centre of the Persian Empire.<sup>17</sup> Later, at the beginning of the Sasanian times, we have the evidence of the letter of Tansar,

<sup>12</sup> Wikander 1946. Boyce 1982

<sup>13</sup> Yamamoto 1979, pp. 19–53

<sup>14</sup> Schmidt 1970, p. iv.

<sup>15</sup> Stronach 1978, p. 141, fig. 74 and pl. 107

<sup>16</sup> Boyce 1975, p. 461.

<sup>17</sup> Boyce 1982, p. 53.

the chief minister of Ardashir I. It states that after the death of Darius III, each local king built his own dynastic fire.<sup>18</sup> Sasanian emperors regarded the dynastic fires as the main symbol of their kingship.

## Part Two: Development of the Temple Cults

The long history of Zoroastrian temple cults concerns the veneration of both the sacred fire and divine images. The basic elements of the development of this cult in Iran is often more readily perceived by starting from the wrong end.

1. Modern Zoroastrians in Iran and India have only fire-temples.
2. Throughout the Islamic period both communities worshipped only in fire-temples. However, some of these temples in Iran were dedicated to various Zoroastrian deities, especially *Anāhitā*, *Mithra*, and *Vərəθraγna* (*Bahrām*).
3. This also seems to have been the case with the Sasanians for the greatest part of their history, and virtually for the entire duration of their imperial period.
4. The early Sasanians, however, are known to have been the hereditary guardians of the temple of *Anāhitā* in Istakhr. Hence, at some stage during their early period, temples housing sacred fires, and those containing divine images, must have co-existed side-by-side. Nonetheless, the Sasanian iconoclastic movement, *involving only the cult statues in the temples*, is known to have begun very early in their history. This must have led to the removal of the divine images from their consecrated buildings, thus leaving the fire-temples as the only places of worship. It is reasonable to assume that some of the desecrated buildings were actually converted into fire-temples.
5. Throughout the Parthian period, both the temple cult of fire and the temple cult of divine images existed side-by-side.
6. This was also the case during the Seleucid era, especially in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia.
7. This was also the case during the late Achaemenian period, especially from c. 400 BC onwards.
8. Many scholars believe that early Achaemenians, Medes, and the Iranian peoples of the pre-imperial period, whether sedentary, nomadic, Eastern or Western did not have any temples.

<sup>18</sup> Boyce 1984, p. 109.

These assertions are generally made by most scholars, and there seems little doubt about the fourth century BC dating of the establishment of the cult of divine images. The dramatic events of this date, therefore, make it necessary to treat it as a significant dividing line between the study of the early fire-cult, and that of the later temple-cults. Starting this time the right-way-round, we shall examine the events leading to the establishment of the two distinct types of temple, which housed, separately, the sacred fires, and the divine images.

### Historical Background

The 46 years long reign of Artaxerxes II (405-359 BC) witnessed many important and long-lasting political as well as religious developments in Iran.<sup>19</sup> In the latter field, at least four significant reforms dramatically altered the character of the Iranian national faith. These developments survived for a very long time, two of which became permanent features of the Zoroastrian religion. They are as follows:

1. Adoption of the Zoroastrian calendar, which is still in use in modern, Muslim Persia.
2. Zurvanite heresy, which survived as a potent force until the end of the Sasanian Empire.
3. The establishment of the temple cult of divine images, which lasted until the end of the Parthian Empire.
4. The establishment of the temple cult of fire, which has lasted until the present day.

Here we are only concerned with the last two reforms. It is believed that the institution of the temple cult of divine images may have actually led to the establishment of fire temples.

### Divine Synchronisations (see the diagrams below)

Already in the pre-Zoroastrian West, at least three Western Iranian deities had been reconciled with three Babylonian gods: *Mithra* with *Shamash*, *Anāhiti* with *Ishtar*, and *Tīri* with *Nabu*. It seems that Zoroastrianism, after arriving in Western Iran, found it prudent to absorb two of these

<sup>19</sup> *e.g.*, the imperial edict read to the representatives of the warring Greek cities at the great congress of Sardis in 387BC, which resulted in the so called "King's Peace".

Babylonianised Iranian deities: *Anāhiti* and *Tīri*. *Mithra* presented no problems, as he was also revered in the Zoroastrian religion. The Western *Anāhiti*, the goddess of the planet Venus, was matched up with *Anāhitā*, the Eastern river goddess. Western *Tīri*, the divinity of the planet Mercury, became *Tishtrya*, the Eastern divinity of the dog-star, Sirius. These gods assumed the personalities of their Babylonian counterparts on top of their original Iranian ones. Hence, at some stage, probably during the reign of Darius II, *Mithra* was associated with the sun (*Shamash*), *Anāhitā* with Venus (*Ishtar*), and incredible it may seem, *Tishtrya*, the dog-star, with the planet Mercury (*Nabu*).<sup>20</sup> These developments are graphically displayed on the following two diagrams.

Diagram 1

#### Synchronisations in the West before the Arrival of Zoroastrianism

Babylonian Gods		Western Iranian Gods
SHAMASH (Sun)	synchronised with	MITHRA
ISHTAR (Venus)	ditto	ANĀHITI
NABU (Mercury)	ditto	TĪRI

Diagram 2

#### Synchronisations in the West after the Arrival of Zoroastrianism

Synchronised Babylonian and Western Iranian Gods		Zoroastrian Gods
SHAMASH/MITHRA (Sun)	synchronised with	MITHRA (god of contract)
ISHTAR/ANĀHITI (Venus)	ditto	ANĀHITĀ (river goddess)
NABU/TĪRI (Mercury)	ditto	TISHTRYA (the Dog-Star)

In spite of such synchronisations, the Achaemenian kings, up to and including Darius II (424-405 BC), reserved their sole devotion for Ahura Mazda, and never named other deities in their inscriptions except as “the other gods”. Artaxerxes II (405-359 BC), the elder son of Darius II and Parysatis, broke this tradition and named *Anāhitā* and *Mithra* after Ahura Mazda. The real significant inclusion here proved to be *Anāhitā*, and surprisingly, not *Mithra*, who was after all a very revered deity in the Zoroastrian religion.

<sup>20</sup> Boyce 1982, pp. 201-216.

## Establishment of the Temple Cult of Divine Images and Fire

Artaxerxes went further than naming other gods after Ahura Mazda, he actually set up statues to *Anāhitā*. This act, seen probably by the Zoroastrians as a blasphemy, is blamed on the Queen Mother's Babylonian sympathies.<sup>21</sup>

Berossos, the third century BC Babylonian priestly scholar states that "After a long period of time, they (Persians) began to worship statues in human form, this practice having been introduced by Artaxerxes son of Darius..... who was first to set up statues of Aphrodite Anaitis at Babylon, Susa, Ecbatana, Persepolis, Bactria, Damascus and Sardis, thus suggesting to those communities the duty of worshipping them".<sup>22</sup> Artaxerxes' brother, Cyrus, also appears to have venerated *Anāhitā*. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that the reverence of the goddess was already a family tradition, and that Darius and Parysatis had established her cult in a few chapels or temples, at least at the palace, and their son went further by imposing her worship with cult-statues and temples throughout the empire.

Some Zoroastrians must have been deeply offended by these blasphemies. The imposition of an alien cult on a community with at least a thousand years of religious orthodoxy behind them must have required an extraordinary zeal and determination which the mild-mannered Artaxerxes (Plutarch, *The Lives*, "Artaxerxes") evidently lacked. Parysatis, the Queen Mother, who dominated her son's long reign, is generally held responsible for this heterodoxy: "her ruthless determination and her Babylonian origin indicate a burning devotion to *Ishtar/Anāhiti* and a consuming passion to have her worship established amongst the Zoroastrians, everywhere, at whatever cost".<sup>23</sup>

It is believed that, as an orthodox reaction to this act of royal sacrilege, the devout followers of the prophet made a counter move and established temples to house the sacred fire as the only icon proper for their devotion. Such a momentous step could not have been taken without the royal assent. There is no evidence that the emperor was anything but a Zoroastrian, albeit, perhaps not an orthodox one. His assent therefore, was probably given willingly. Fire temples, from then on, became permanent features of Zoroastrian devotional rituals, with some even being named after the pre-Zoroastrian deities, such as, *Bahrām*, *Anāhitā* and *Mithra*.

<sup>21</sup> Boyce 1982, *ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> Schnabel 1923, Book 3, fragment 65.

<sup>23</sup> Boyce 1982, pp. 217-218.

### Development of Temple Cult of Divine Images 400 BC to 224 AD

The Empire barely survived Artaxerxes' death. In less than 30 years after his death (359 BC), it was dealt a death blow by Alexander the Great, known in Zoroastrian sources as "Alexander the Damned". It didn't, however, take the Iranians very long to establish their third and penultimate Zoroastrian empire which lasted for 500 years. Parthians, who succeeded the Achaemenians in 250 BC, were devout, but heterodox Zoroastrians. Under their long rule, not only many more temples for divine images were built throughout the empire, but further synchronisations were actively encouraged, this time with the Greek deities. Their tolerant and liberal rule stretched over a large number of federated vassal kingdoms, all the way from the Euphrates to the Indus. One of the most colourful member of this federation was the kingdom of Kushan, corresponding to the present day Pakistan and Afghanistan. Kushan vassal kings although some undoubtedly Zoroastrian, did nonetheless, decorate their coins with images composed of Iranian, Greek, Mesopotamian and Indian deities. They even produced images of the *Amesha Spentas*, whom Zoroaster seems to have taken so much pain to depict as abstract and conceptual deities only. It is still difficult to imagine how can any one paint a picture of concepts, such as, bounteous devotion, or best righteousness, or good thoughts.

### Sasanians AD 224-637

The last of the four Zoroastrian empires of ancient Iran was undoubtedly the most devout and orthodox. Modern Zoroastrians are the surviving remnant of that formidable semi theocracy. Ardashir I, the founder of the empire, came from a long line of vassal kings of Pārs, a province of the Parthian Empire. They were also the hereditary guardians of the famous temple of *Anāhitā* in Istakhr. They are, therefore, the last people one would expect to go as far as initiating the first iconoclastic movement in history. Nonetheless, that is what they appear to have done soon after defeating the Parthians and forming their own empire. There is no direct and irrefutable evidence to support the commonly held belief that the Sasanian iconoclastic movement actually caused the destruction of many temples and their cult statues. A large volume of indirect and circumstantial evidence, on the other hand, clearly indicate that many temples of divine images, even their own *Anāhitā*, were at least stripped of their icons and converted into fire temples<sup>24</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> Boyce 19984, pp. 112-13, esp. para. 7.



Some cult statues, however, appear to have been actually destroyed in Kushan (modern Afghanistan and Pakistan). This tolerant Parthian vassal kingdom with many converts to Buddhism, may have received an especial treatment under the Sasanians. Soon after its incorporation into the highly centralised Sasanian Empire, the word Buddha was demoted in Persian language to mean idol. All modern Iranian languages, as well as many others, still use the Sasanian terms, *butparast*, meaning Buddha-worshipper, to describe an idolater, and *butshekan*, “Buddha-smasher”, as an iconoclast. It seems highly probable that at least in that part of the Empire, some Zoroastrian and Buddhist image temples and their cult statues and other works of art were destroyed.<sup>25</sup>

The Sasanian iconoclastic movement probably constitutes the very first act of religious intolerance in Zoroastrian history. This act of licensed vandalism was gratuitously copied, first by the Christians and later by Islam, with devastating consequences for the artistic heritage of virtually every culture conquered by those two religions.

In view of the above, one would logically expect that the Sasanians must have returned to the purity and the simplicity of the pre-400 BC Gathic Zoroastrianism. Such simplicity and purity, however, seems to have been only applied to their fire-temples. Outside these temples they evolved the most elaborate religious iconography in Zoroastrian history, apparently with no holds barred. Not only their coins, seals and rock carvings are liberally illustrated with images of various pre-Zoroastrian gods and their ornaments, but they even went as far as depicting Ahura Mazda himself in human form.

## Conclusion

Fall of Ctesephon, the imperial capital, to the Arabs in 637 AD, and the murder of the last emperor, Yazdgird III, 24 years later, destroyed the last, and the most religious of the four Zoroastrian empires. The humiliation this time was destined to be permanent. It reduced the Iranian religion to the state of suspended animation, which has lasted until the present day. Under these circumstances, the survival of the faith became the prime object. This sapped all the energy that the declining community could muster,

<sup>25</sup> This particular iconoclasm, however, could not have led to a total or even a large scale devastation. This is evidenced by the sheer volume of literally thousands upon thousands of statues which were “ground to dust” by the Ghaznavids, and smashed up by other Muslim rulers to this date.

resulting in the loss of its inherent Iranian creativity, consequently its rich artistic repertoire. It was not until the last decades of the 19th century that the re-emergence of the Zoroastrian vigour ushered in a small volume of the old religious iconography.

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Fig. 1. Detail of *Xvarenah* carved on the east door of the Tripylon at Persepolis.  
(after Ghirshman 1964).



Fig. 2. Cylinder seal of Darius the Great with Trilingual inscription and representation  
of *Xvarenah*. (Photograph: Courtesy of the British Museum).



Fig. 3. Gold plaque from the Oxus Treasure, showing a man dressed in the Median costume and holding a *baresman*. (Photograph: Courtesy of the British Museum).



Fig. 4. Stone stela from Caesarea, Turkey, showing a bearded man in a long tunic holding a *baresman* depicted on. Istanbul Museum, (*Photograph by the author*).



Fig. 5. Stone stela from Dascylium, Turkey, showing a couple each holding a *baretan* and standing behind animals. Istanbul Museum, (*Photograph by the author*).





Fig. 6. Sassanian coin of Ardashir I, AD 224–240.  
Fire-altar: reverse. British Museum, (*Photograph by the author*).



Fig. 7. Kushan coin of Huvishka *ca.* AD 128,  
depicting Zoroaster's amorphic deities.  
*Asha Vahishta* (inscribed *Araeixro*), "best righteousness".  
British Museum, (*Photograph by the author*).

# A Critical Note on Two Old Persian Calques in Official Aramaic

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## Abstract

*Two expressions considered Old Persian loan-translations in Official Aramaic warrant further examination. The first, "let it be known," is unattested in Old Persian, and may be after all indigenous to Northwest Semitic. The second calque, "make war," is even more tenuous, despite its abundant attestation in Old Persian. Apart from Old Persian and Aramaic it appears in Hebrew and Akkadian and is basic enough to occur in almost any language. The author recommends that both calques be considered uncertain.*

As Old Persian loans in Aramaic continue to be documented, it is necessary to revisit some earlier proposals that have gained general approval. The following will be an examination of two prospective Old Persian calques in Official Aramaic.

## "Let it be known"

After Iranist Émile Benveniste suggested that the clause *kn ydy' yhwyl lk*, "thus let it be known to you" (Driver Letters), was probably an Old Persian calque,<sup>1</sup> his explanation was generally well-received by Aramaists.<sup>2</sup> Ben-

<sup>1</sup> Benveniste 1954, p. 305.

<sup>2</sup> Driver 1957, p. 66; Coxon 1977, p. 109. Both Kutscher (1969, p. 142) and Hensley (1977, pp. 152-53) appear undecided.



veniste proposed that the unattested Old Persian expression *\*avaθātaiy azdā biyā*, “thus let it be known to you,” may underlie the Aramaic, *kn ydy yhw lk*. Coxon connected the data to the same clause in Dan 3:18 and Ezra 4:12, 13; 5:8.<sup>3</sup>

The expression is certainly possible in Old Persian (to relieve Kutscher’s concern)<sup>4</sup> — Benveniste using the present optative of *bav-*, “to become,” as an imperative. Nevertheless, scholarship’s ready acceptance of Benveniste’s proposal that *kn ydy yhw lk* is probably (“probablement”) an Old Persian calque has to be reassessed, especially since his conjectural retroversion is mentioned in passing and lacks documentation.<sup>5</sup>

Fortunately, clauses with some resemblance can be located in Old Persian documents, suggesting that Benveniste may have modeled his hypothetical form on them. Compare Benveniste’s *\*avaθātaiy azdā biyā*, “thus let it be known to you,” with DNa 43 and 45-46, *adataiy azdā bavātiy*, “then it shall be known to you.”<sup>6</sup>

Moreover, aside from Benveniste’s example of AD 7.8, *kn ydy yhw lk*, a plausible reconstruction of AD 4.3, *kn y[dy y]hwh lk*,<sup>7</sup> “thus let it be known to you,” provides further evidence of this clause in Persian-influenced Aramaic. It also turns up in one of the Bar Kokhba letters (Middle Aramaic) 5/6 *HevEp* 14.3 (MPAT 59.3), *ydy yhw lkn dy mnkn ʾbd prʾnwt*, “let it be known to you that I will punish [you] at your expense.”<sup>8</sup> Ezra 7:24 should also be given consideration even though *ydaʿ* in this case is an active participle *mʾhōdʿîn*. The clause *ûlʾkōm mʾhōdʿîn dî* is ordinarily translated “[we] are making known to you.” Nevertheless the imperatival nature of the context of Ezra 7:21-26 (Artaxerxes ordering his treasurers) would allow, perhaps even prefer, an imperatival sense where the participle is to be taken as an indefinite plural replacing the singular passive: “Let it be known to you.”<sup>9</sup>

Here it should be stressed that in all the examples (biblical and secular) the clause “let it be known to you” is more than simply a summons to knowledge. It is charged with a sense of sobriety and reverential warning, somewhat like the American-English “make no mistake about it.” For ex-

<sup>3</sup> Coxon 1977, p. 109. On Dan 3:18 see Kutscher 1969, p. 142.

<sup>4</sup> Kutscher 1969, p. 142.

<sup>5</sup> Benveniste 1954, p. 306.

<sup>6</sup> *Bavātiy* is the third person, singular, present subjunctive of *bav-*, used as a future.

<sup>7</sup> Lindenberger 1994, p. 76. See also Driver 1957, p. 25.

<sup>8</sup> See Yadin 1961, p. 48; Fitzmyer-Harrington 1978, p. 160.

<sup>9</sup> See Williamson’s translation, “Be it further known to you....” Williamson 1985, p. 96; Johns 1972, p. 26. For a similar use of the indefinite plural for the singular passive see Dan 3:4, “Then the herald proclaimed with a loud voice, ‘You are commanded [ʾāmʾrîn] O peoples, nations, and people of every language.’” See Williamson 1985, p. 97; Bauer-Leander 1927, p. 333; Williams 1964.

ample Ezra 4:13 reads, “Now let it be known [*y’dia’ lehēwēh*] to the king that if that city is rebuilt and its walls are completed, they will not pay tribute, tax, or rent, and it will damage the treasury of the kings.” Concurring, Lindenberger translates *AD* 4.3, *kn y[dy’ y]hwh lk*, as, “You have been warned.”<sup>10</sup> Dan 3:18 also carries this nuance, “And if not, let it be known to you O king [*y’dia’ lehēwē’-lāk malkā*] that we shall not serve your gods nor will we worship the image of gold that you have erected.”<sup>11</sup>

This construction, using the passive voice of *yāda’*, is attested in Biblical Hebrew but, unlike Official Aramaic, seldom with the sense of caution or warning. For instance Isa 12:5 records, *mūda’at zō’t b’kol-hā’āreṣ*, “Let this be known in all the earth,” in the context of celebration.<sup>12</sup> We might also include here 1 Kgs 18:36; Ps 79:10; and Ruth 3:14:

- (1) 1 Kgs 18:36, “and Elijah said, ‘O Lord God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, today let it be known [*yiwwāda’*] that you are God in Israel.’”
- (2) Ps 79:10, “Why should the nations say, ‘Where is their God?’ Let the vengeance of the blood of your servants that was poured out be known [*yiwwāda’*] among the nations before our eyes.”<sup>13</sup>
- (3) Ruth 3:14, “and he [Boaz] said, ‘Let it not be known [*’al-yiwwāda’*] that a woman came to the threshing floor.’”

Only Ezek 36:32 exactly parallels our Aramaic examples: “‘Let it be known to you [*yiwwāda’ lākem*], that am I not doing this for your sakes,’ says the Lord God.”<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Lindenberger 1994, p. 76.

<sup>11</sup> For examples in the active voice see Ezra 4:16, *m’hôd’în ’ānahnāh malkā*, “We make known to the king...,” and Dan 6:16, *da’ malkā*, “Know, O king.”

<sup>12</sup> Here *mūda’at*, reflects the *Qere*, Hophal participle reading. The *Ketib* is a Pual participle, ordinarily translated “acquaintance.” Oswalt 1986, p. 290; Delitzsch 1890, p. 292; Gray 1912, p. 232; Kautzsch 1910, p. 357. The hortatory, “let this be known,” is like the Latin gerundive function of non-Qal passive participles and is supported by the surrounding imperatives. Delitzsch 1890, p. 292; Kautzsch 1910, pp. 356–57. Contra Clements 1980, p. 129. English translations that render it as “let this be known” or the like include: REV, NAB, RSV, JPSV, NASB, NIV. Note that comparable idioms did not occur with *bīn*, *gālāh*, or *sākal*.

<sup>13</sup> I have placed 1 Kgs 18:36, Ps 79:10, and Ruth 3:14 in this category because, though the occasions are serious, “let it be known” does not mean “listen up” or “make no mistake about it,” as in the Aramaic examples. Rather the expression is commanding or requesting that the person directly addressed disseminate (or restrict) certain information.

<sup>14</sup> That the expression survived the Persian period well into New Testament times is attested by four occurrences of this locution in the book of Acts. For example, Acts 13:38 states, *gnōston oun estō hymin, andres adelphoi, hoti dia toutou hymin aphesis hamartiōn kataggelletai*, “Let it be known to you men, brothers, that through him forgiveness of sins is preached to you....” See also Acts 2:14; 4:10; 28:28. In light of these occurrences and the example from *5/6 HevEp* 14 Coxon’s statement that (if Benveniste is correct) “a patent antiquity attaches to the construction in Dan 3.18 and Ezra 4.12, 5.8,” needs retraction. Coxon 1977, p. 109.

So then, Benveniste's suggested calque can be verified to some extent.<sup>15</sup> A scarcity of other possible sources for this expression (including Old Aramaic),<sup>16</sup> as well as its appearance in the Ezra documents, Driver Letters, and the Aramaic of Daniel strengthen Benveniste's case. On the other hand, the clause is not directly attested in Old Persian — though certainly possible — and is not of such a variety as to be alien to Semitic languages. Therefore I cannot share Benveniste's optimism, but must regard *kn ydy' yhwyl lk* as a questionable Old Persian calque.

### "To make War"

The second Old Persian calque requiring reexamination is *'bd qrb*, "make war," e.g., Dan 7:21, *u'qarnāh dikkēn 'āb'dāh q'rāb 'im qaddišin*, "And that horn was making war with the saints." Likewise, the combination *'bdw qrb*, "they made war," surfaces in IQapGen 21:24, 31 (plausibly reconstructed in vs. 31).<sup>17</sup> Both examples match the common Old Persian expression *hamaranam kar*, "make war" (DB 1.90, 94, etc.), which is (indirectly)<sup>18</sup> translated in the Aramaic version of the Behistun inscription as *'bdw qrb*, "they made war" (DB 2.39, etc.).<sup>19</sup> Consequently Hensley proposes, "A more certain Persian calque is עבד plus קרב going back to Old Persian *hamaranam kar*."<sup>20</sup> In reference to the same expression, Dandamaev ventures, "Das zeigt, daß die aramäische Variante eine Übersetzung aus dem Altpersischen war, da es ja in den semitischen Sprachen keine solche Wendungen gibt."<sup>21</sup>

The potential, however, for *'bd qrb* to be an Old Persian calque is suspect from the very beginning. First, according to Hensley's own findings we discover that "עבד plus abstract nouns also occurs in the Sefire inscriptions, which suggests a possible Aramaic origin for the construction."<sup>22</sup> Although

<sup>15</sup> But even here DNa 43 and 45 (see above) are at best similar in surface structure meaning to the Aramaic examples. On the level of pragmatics (i.e., speech act), however, the two examples in DNa do not convey the sense of a solemn directive or reverential warning that the Aramaic examples do.

<sup>16</sup> See Hofstijzer-Jongeling 1995, p. 441; Brauner 1974, p. 244.

<sup>17</sup> Fitzmyer 1971, p. 70.

<sup>18</sup> As with *pasāva* and *ḥr* the connection between the Old Persian and its Aramaic translation is indirect. The Aramaic appears to be a translation of the Akkadian version (*itepšū šaltu* and *ana epēš tāḥaza*). Greenfield-Porten 1982, pp. 4, 21, 62; Cowley 1923, p. 249.

<sup>19</sup> DB 2.39 = Beh. line 12.

<sup>20</sup> Hensley 1977, p. 157. Naveh-Shaked mention that "the latter [*'bd qrb*, 'fought'] is a calque on the Old Persian phrase *hamaranam kar*." They may, however, be limiting this observation to the Behistun inscription. Naveh-Shaked 1973, p. 452.

<sup>21</sup> Dandamaev 1976, p. 79.

<sup>22</sup> Hensley 1977, p. 157.

he is not referring to *'bd qrb*, the Official Aramaic constructions he has in mind are, nevertheless, identical to *'bd qrb* with the exception that their direct object is an abstract noun, "punishment."<sup>23</sup> Of his Old Aramaic examples (*KAI* 222C:4-5; 223B:2; 224:22) *KAI* 224:22 strikes the closest parallel to the constructions (*'bd* + abstract noun) under consideration: *whm t]'bd mrmmt 'ly*, "but if you commit treacherous acts against me..."<sup>24</sup>

More problematic, however, may be the occurrence of the parallel expression *'āsāh milhāmāh*, "make war," in Biblical Hebrew (contra Danda-maev). It occurs 12 times in the Old Testament<sup>25</sup> along with other less common constructions for expressing the meaning of the standard verb *nilham*, "to fight" (c. 171X).<sup>26</sup> Nevertheless, one could still argue that *'āsāh milhāmāh* is a comparatively uncommon mode for expressing war in the Old Testament, which allows for the possibility that the Aramaic *'bd qrb* in Official Aramaic may have been under Persian influence.<sup>27</sup>

In addition, an Old Persian calque hypothesis must contend with the well-attested Akkadian constructions (which occur considerably prior to the Achaemenian period) *epēšu* + *qarābu* and *epēšu* + *MURUB<sub>4</sub>/qablu*, both meaning "to make war."<sup>28</sup> Although *qarābu* is considered an Aramaic loanword,<sup>29</sup> its combination with *epēšu*, "to do," "make," is by no means foreign to Akkadian (e.g., *epēšu* + *MURUB<sub>4</sub>/qablu*). Additionally, it may be that the Akkadian construction was at some point borrowed by the Persians resulting in *hamaranam kar*. But because such expressions are possible in both languages, proposals of Persian borrowing would be difficult to maintain.

<sup>23</sup> Hensley 1977, p. 157. He cites (p. 157) *AD* 4.3-4 and 7.9-10: *wgst prgm yt'bd lk(m)*, lit., "harsh punishment [rebuke, sentence] shall be done to you," and *AD* 3.6, 7-8, *srušyt'...yt'bd lhm*, lit., "punishment shall be done to them."

<sup>24</sup> For this restoration see Fitzmyer 1967, p. 100; Gibson 1975, p. 50; Donner-Röllig 1966, p. 45.

<sup>25</sup> Gen 14:2; Deut 20:12, 20; Josh 11:18; 1 Kgs 12:21; 2 Kgs 24:16; Prov 20:18; 1 Chr 5:10, 19; 2 Chr 11:1; 26:11, 13. Even-Shoshan 1990, pp. 918-23.

<sup>26</sup> *milhāmāh hāy'tāh* (1 Kgs 14:30; 2 Sam 3:6; 18:6; 21:15, 20; etc.); *'arak milhāmāh* (Judg 20:22; 1 Sam 17:8; 1 Chr 12:36; etc.); *'ālāh lammilhāmāh* (Judg 20:18; 1 Kgs 20:26; 2 Kgs 16:5); *hālāk lammilhāmāh* (1 Kgs 22:4, 6, 15; 2 Kgs 3:7; 8:28; 2 Chr 18:5, 14); *yāšā' lammilhāmāh* (Deut 2:32; etc.); *qār'bāh hammilhāmāh* (1 Kgs 20:29); *bō' bammilhāmāh* (Num 10:9; 31:21; 1 Kgs 22:30); *hitgārāh milhāmāh* (Deut 2:9, 24; Dan 11:25 [l]); *qiddāš milhāmāh* (Mic 3:5); *qāmāh 'al milhāmāh* (Ps 27:3); *'anf'dāh milhāmāh* (1 Chr 20:4); *nāgāš lammilhāmāh* (Judg 20:23; 1 Sam 7:10; 1 Chr 19:14; etc.); *'āsār milhāmāh* (1 Kgs 20:14). Even-Shoshan 1990, pp. 661-63. The expression also occurs four times in the book of Revelation as *poieō polemon*, "make war" (Rev 11:7; 12:17; 13:7; 19:19), which is probably a calque on either the Hebrew or Aramaic construction.

<sup>27</sup> Out of the 12 occurrences of *'āsāh milhāmāh*, five are in 1-2 Chronicles.

<sup>28</sup> Oppenheim 1968, pp. 125-26; Soden 1965-1981, p. 901. Many examples can be pointed to in the documents of Tiglath Pileser I, Assurbanipal, Assurbanipal II, and Esarhaddon. See Oppenheim 1968, pp. 125-26.

<sup>29</sup> Soden 1968, p. 264; Soden 1965-1981, p. 901; Oppenheim 1968, p. 125.

In conclusion, the fact that the identical expression occurs in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Akkadian vouches for this concept being *gemeinsemitisch*. Furthermore, the practice of substituting verbs with compounds of “to make” plus a direct object is common enough to languages in general that it would permit an independent origin for the construction “to make war” in all four of the languages under examination (Hebrew, Aramaic, Akkadian, and Old Persian), or at least within the two language families (Semitic and Indo-European).<sup>30</sup> Consequently, I submit that, much like our first example, *’bd qrb* is at best a questionable Old Persian calque.

Suspicion of linguistic interference requires more judicious testing than has been exercised in the past. As these examples demonstrate, alternative, indigenous explanations must be considered first, before foreign contamination is posited.

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<sup>30</sup> For instance, we could include the French *faire*, and the middle voice of *poieō*, “to do/make,” in Classical and Koine Greek. Smyth 1984, p. 362; Zerwick 1963, pp. 72-73. Likewise we can think of English compounds like “make haste,” “make merry,” “make restitution,” “do penance,” etc.

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# The position of the particle *dên* in New Testament Syriac

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## Abstract

*The present paper investigates the placement of the Syriac particle dên within the clause in the Peshitta version of the New Testament. The main line of the argumentation is that the placement of dên within the clause (1) is essentially a clause-internal matter and (2) that it is dependent on the surface layer of the clause structure. The internal dynamics of the placement of dên are understood in terms of one basic rule (dên in the second slot of the clause) challenged by (1) various constraints on word-ordering patterns and (2) one phonological parameter.\**

## Introduction

The question of the position of the particle ܕܢ *dên* in the Syriac clause has never attracted much attention. To mention but a few scholars, Nöldeke specifies that *dên* belongs to these particles that never (or only exceptionally) occur at the beginning of the clause,<sup>1</sup> and also mentions that it is liable to split various syntactic units such as genitival relationships, prepositional syntagms (*etc.*). By means of the examples that he adduces, however, he also shows that this is not systematic.<sup>2</sup> For his part, Brockelmann states that *dên* always occurs in second position.<sup>3</sup> Ungnad, in addi-

\* I wish to thank Prof. Dr. T. Muraoka (University of Leiden) who read a draft of this paper prior to its publication and made many helpful comments.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nöldeke 1966, §155C, n. 1: "[...] Wörtchen, welche nie oder nur ausnahmsweise am Anfang des Satzes stehn".

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Nöldeke 1966, §327.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Brockelmann 1938, § 175: "[...] nach Analogie des griech[ischen] δέ immer an zweiter Stelle stehend".



tion to a few remarks on the behaviour of *dên* in relation to some specific morphosyntactic structures,<sup>4</sup> suggests that its position in the clause is intimately connected to stress patterns, as he states that *dên* occurs either in second position, or after the first stress unit.<sup>5</sup>

Notwithstanding these valuable remarks, the question of the position of *dên* within the clause remains rather puzzling. Although this particle hardly if ever occurs in clause-initial position, it is not in the least restricted to the second position, as can be seen in the numerous cases where it occurs in third, fourth — and at times even fifth — position.

Considering this, the purpose of this paper is to produce a fuller account of this syntactic issue. In order to do that, the various passages in which *dên* appears in the Peshitta version of the New Testament were checked, and in each case an attempt was made to relate the position of the particle to the broader syntactic context in which it occurs such as to bring out possible conditioning factors. The linguistic facts that this investigation brought to the fore are presented below. The exposition will then be followed by a discussion of the evidence.

### Linguistic Evidence

1. As already said, all scholars agree that the particle *dên* hardly if ever occurs in clause-initial position, and most of them add that its basic, natural position is the second slot of the clause. According to the present analysis this statement proves correct, to the extent that *dên* will occur as the second word of the clause unless some other factor comes into play. Innumerable examples attest to this state of affairs, in particular:

a) In verbal clauses, the particle *dên* usually occurs in second position when the first slot is filled by the verb of the clause, as in Mt 1:21 ܕܢܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܡܝܪܝܡ, Mt 6:33 ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ, Mk 13:12 ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ, Lk 15:22 ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ, Act 10:34 ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ, Act 15:6 ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ, 1Cor 1:16 ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ, Gal 2:2 ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ, Jas 1:9 ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ, Jud 1:14 ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ etc.

b) In nominal clauses, *dên* also occurs in second position, whether after the subject, as in Mk 7:6 ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ, Mt 13:39 ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ, Lk 22:26 ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ, or after the predicate, as in Mt

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ungnad 1992, §18m and §48f.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Ungnad, 1992, §52b: “an zweiter Stelle [...] oder nach der ersten Akzentinheit”.

9:15 ስላሰላላ ስላ ስላሰላላ, Mt 25:8 ስላሰላላ ስላ ስላሰላላ, Lk 22:70 ስላሰላላ ስላሰላላ.<sup>6</sup>

c) Whatever the type of clause, the particle *dên* occurs in second position when a constituent of the clause has been extraposed or otherwise brought to initial position.<sup>7</sup> This is often the case with the subject of the clause, as in Mt 22:37 ስላ ስላሰላላ ስላሰላላ, Mk 14:19 ስላሰላላ ስላሰላላ, Act 2:24 ስላሰላላ ስላሰላላ. But this can happen to virtually any other constituent of the clause, e.g. the direct object as in Act 22:9 ስላሰላላ ስላሰላላ, Jn 12:16 ስላሰላላ ስላሰላላ; the indirect object as in 1Cor 2:10 ስላሰላላ ስላሰላላ; or adverbials as in Jn 8:12 ስላሰላላ ስላሰላላ, Rom 7:6 ስላሰላላ ስላሰላላ, 1Cor 13:12 ስላሰላላ ስላሰላላ etc.

2. The examples above featured only *simple* constituents, whether a verb form, a (pro)noun or an adverb. When the first constituent of the clause is *complex*, it normally complies with the rule as well, in that it becomes discontinuous such as to allow *dên* to intervene. In other words, *dên* is placed immediately after the first word of the constituent and therefore retains the second slot of the clause. The most frequent types of such discontinuous constituents are listed below:

a) Various combinations of a noun and a noun modifier, e.g.:

- Noun + attributive adjective: e.g. Mt 7:17 ስላሰላላ ስላሰላላ, Mt 13:38 ስላሰላላ ስላሰላላ.

- Noun + demonstrative adjective: in this case, it does not matter whether the demonstrative element precedes or follows the noun, as in Heb 7:1 ስላሰላላ ስላሰላላ as opposed to Lk 12:56 ስላሰላላ ስላሰላላ, or Mk 5:33 ስላሰላላ ስላሰላላ, vs. 1Cor 10:4 ስላሰላላ ስላሰላላ.

- Noun + interrogative adjective: e.g. Mt 10:11 ስላሰላላ ስላሰላላ, 2Cor 6:16 ስላሰላላ ስላሰላላ.

- Noun + numeral adjective: e.g. with ስላ Lk 2:25 ስላሰላላ ስላሰላላ, Mk 5:25 ስላሰላላ ስላሰላላ. With the other numerals, examples are not plenty, but the following instances can be mentioned: 1Cor 14:29 ስላሰላላ ስላሰላላ, Mt 28:16 ስላሰላላ ስላሰላላ, Lk 20:29 ስላሰላላ ስላሰላላ.

<sup>6</sup> This statement will be refined when the enclitics are discussed.

<sup>7</sup> In this paper, both phenomena are understood along the lines of Functional Grammar as exposed in Dik 1997a and Dik 1997b. Within this linguistic framework, the extraposition appears as the function of “theme” (cf. Dik 1997b, pp. 389-95), whereas the fact that the clause-initial position might be filled by some constituent or other is accounted for by means of the principle of “pragmatic highlighting” (cf. Dik 1997a, pp. 403ff.).

- Noun + adjectival quantifier ܐܠ *koll* “all” (with pronominal suffix):<sup>8</sup> here too it does not matter whether *koll* precedes or follows, as in 1Cor 12:12 ܐܠ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠ ܡܠܟܐ vs. Act 17:21 ܐܠ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠ ܡܠܟܐ, 1Cor 12:11 ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠ ܡܠܟܐ vs. Mt 24:8 ܐܠ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠ ܡܠܟܐ (both with pronominal use of the demonstrative).

b) Combinations of a (pro)noun / adverbial and proclitic -ܐ *d-*,<sup>9</sup> e.g.:

- Demonstrative pronoun + *d-*: e.g. 1Jn 2:10 ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠ ܡܠܟܐ, Act 13:37 ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠ ܡܠܟܐ, Mt 15:38 ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠ ܡܠܟܐ etc.

- Interrogative pronoun + *d-*: e.g. Lk 12:9 ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠ ܡܠܟܐ, 1Tim 5:6 ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠ ܡܠܟܐ, Jn 1:12 ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠ ܡܠܟܐ, Mk 3:29 ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠ ܡܠܟܐ.<sup>10</sup>

- Pronoun *koll* (with or without pronominal suffix) + *d-*: e.g. Jn 4:14 ܐܠ ܡܠܟܐ, Lk 4:20 ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠ ܡܠܟܐ.

- Interrogative adverbial + *d-*: e.g. Heb 10:18 ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠ ܡܠܟܐ, Mt 6:16 ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠ ܡܠܟܐ, Mt 24:37 ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠ ܡܠܟܐ.

- Noun + *d-* (as an analytical substitute for the construct relationship): e.g. Lk 7:2 ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠ ܡܠܟܐ, Mt 1:18 ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠ ܡܠܟܐ.

c) Others:

- Proleptic pronoun: nominal constituents are not infrequently introduced by a proleptic pronoun. When such constituents should be extraposed or brought to initial position, it is the latter pronoun rather than the nominal that is affected. So, instances such as Mk 14:62 ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠ ܡܠܟܐ are quite often encountered beside Mt 14:29 ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠ ܡܠܟܐ. Likewise Mk 6:19 ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠ ܡܠܟܐ, Rom 11:13 ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠ ܡܠܟܐ.

- Apposition: when a noun is provided with an apposition, *dên* usually appears between the two, as in Mk 16:19 ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠ ܡܠܟܐ, Mt 1:19 ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠ ܡܠܟܐ. Compound proper nouns — whatever the exact nature of the compound — may be mentioned here as well, as in Mk 15:47 ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠ ܡܠܟܐ, Mk 14:10 ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠ ܡܠܟܐ or Jn 18:15 ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠ ܡܠܟܐ.

3. However, it appears that certain sequences of words<sup>11</sup> do not usually let *dên* intervene. In these cases, *dên* has to follow or precede the entire sequence, which means that it will occur in third (more rarely fourth or fifth)

<sup>8</sup> Sometimes, *koll* in its adjectival use appears without pronominal suffix: for the peculiar properties of the resulting construction, see below.

<sup>9</sup> But *not* the combinations of a preposition and *d-*, for which see below.

<sup>10</sup> It should be noted however that the combinations -ܐ *man d-* “whoever” and -ܐ *ma d-* “when” do not comply systematically with the majority, so that instances like Jn 6:54 ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠ ܡܠܟܐ are also found.

<sup>11</sup> Used in a broad sense in order to denote various groups of words, whether they be a (part of a) complex constituent or a part of the clause.

position if the sequence involved is first in the clause.

Representative instances are listed below:

a) Enclitics (*i.e.* essentially the enclitic pronouns and the enclitic use of  $\text{ሕ}wâ$  (*h*) $wâ$ ) are usually not separated from the predicate which precedes them, *e.g.* Rom 11:11...  $\text{ሕ}wâ$   $\text{ሕ}wâ$ . As in the example just mentioned, this is especially the case with the participles and adjectives used predicatively, as in Jas 2:20...  $\text{ሕ}wâ$   $\text{ሕ}wâ$  (active ptc.), Gal 4:20  $\text{ሕ}wâ$  ...  $\text{ሕ}wâ$  (active ptc.), Mt 24:6...  $\text{ሕ}wâ$   $\text{ሕ}wâ$  (passive ptc.), Jn 11:5  $\text{ሕ}wâ$   $\text{ሕ}wâ$  (active ptc.), Jn 6:4  $\text{ሕ}wâ$   $\text{ሕ}wâ$  (adjective) *etc.* But this also obtains with other words such as  $\text{ሕ}wâ$  *it*, as in Jn 5:5  $\text{ሕ}wâ$   $\text{ሕ}wâ$   $\text{ሕ}wâ$   $\text{ሕ}wâ$ , Lk 24:10  $\text{ሕ}wâ$   $\text{ሕ}wâ$   $\text{ሕ}wâ$   $\text{ሕ}wâ$  *etc.* Finally, the same applies to  $\text{ሕ}wâ$  -*u/w* in its use as a focus marker,<sup>12</sup> as in 1Tim 3:15  $\text{ሕ}wâ$   $\text{ሕ}wâ$   $\text{ሕ}wâ$ .

b) The adverb  $\text{ሕ}wâ$  *ap* is never separated from the word it modifies, *e.g.* Jn 3:23  $\text{ሕ}wâ$   $\text{ሕ}wâ$   $\text{ሕ}wâ$   $\text{ሕ}wâ$ , Jn 20:31  $\text{ሕ}wâ$   $\text{ሕ}wâ$   $\text{ሕ}wâ$ , where *dên* does not appear in second position despite the fact that in both clauses the constituent has been brought to clause-initial position.

c) The negative  $\text{ሕ}wâ$  *lâ* is usually not separated from the word it negates, unless it occupies the initial position in the clause: consider the contrast between Mt 6:15  $\text{ሕ}wâ$   $\text{ሕ}wâ$   $\text{ሕ}wâ$  and Lk 21:8  $\text{ሕ}wâ$   $\text{ሕ}wâ$ . Other examples are Mt 10:13  $\text{ሕ}wâ$   $\text{ሕ}wâ$   $\text{ሕ}wâ$ , Jas 2:11  $\text{ሕ}wâ$   $\text{ሕ}wâ$   $\text{ሕ}wâ$ , Lk 7:6  $\text{ሕ}wâ$   $\text{ሕ}wâ$   $\text{ሕ}wâ$ , and on the other hand Jn 9:18  $\text{ሕ}wâ$   $\text{ሕ}wâ$   $\text{ሕ}wâ$ , Mk 10:43  $\text{ሕ}wâ$   $\text{ሕ}wâ$   $\text{ሕ}wâ$ .<sup>13</sup>

In connection with this, it would appear that the negative existential particle  $\text{ሕ}wâ$  *layt* “there is/are not” follows the same rule as the bare negative  $\text{ሕ}wâ$  *lâ*, in that it is not usually separated from the word whose existence it denies unless it happens to be the first word of the clause, *e.g.* Act 25:11  $\text{ሕ}wâ$   $\text{ሕ}wâ$   $\text{ሕ}wâ$  as opposed to Lk 12:2  $\text{ሕ}wâ$   $\text{ሕ}wâ$ . The evidence is rather sparse, however, so that this similarity of behaviour between *layt* and *lâ* cannot be ascertained beyond reasonable doubt.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Nöldeke 1966, §221 and Muraoka 1997, §110.

<sup>13</sup> Not many exceptions have been found. One may note 1Cor 7:9  $\text{ሕ}wâ$   $\text{ሕ}wâ$   $\text{ሕ}wâ$ , where *lâ* is separated from the word it negates though it does not occur in first position, and Jn 15:6  $\text{ሕ}wâ$   $\text{ሕ}wâ$   $\text{ሕ}wâ$ , where moreover crasis of *ên* and *lâ* has (surprisingly) taken place. Conversely, it also happens that *lâ* is not separated from the word it negates whereas it stands in clause-initial position, as in Rom 9:6...  $\text{ሕ}wâ$   $\text{ሕ}wâ$ . Interestingly, in all cases found by the present writer the negated word is the enclitic (*h*) $wâ$ , as in the aforementioned example, and moreover the alternative  $\text{ሕ}wâ$   $\text{ሕ}wâ$  *lâ* *dên* (*h*) $wâ$  (*i.e.* with *dên* intervening) is not attested.

<sup>14</sup> Besides, a few instances are attested where *dên* occurs in third position while *layt* is the

d) As seen above, when the quantifier *koll* is used as an adjective, it takes most of the time the appropriate pronominal suffix and can be placed either before or after the noun it modifies. Sometimes, however, it occurs without pronominal suffix: in such cases, it normally precedes the noun it modifies and is not separated from it by *dên*, as in Mt 27:15 ܠܠܚܕܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ... ܕܝܗܘܐ. Yet, in the New Testament this does not happen very often, apart from the two nouns ܐܢܫܐ (*e)nâš* and ܡܕܕܡ *meddem*, for which this construction is quite usual, as in 1Cor 9:25 ܠܠܚܕܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ, 1Cor 3:10 ܠܠܚܕܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ (with crasis), Jn 10:41 ܠܠܚܕܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ, 1Cor 11:12 ܠܠܚܕܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ (likewise with crasis).

e) “Repetitive” constructions: when a noun occurs in a repetitive construction (not infrequently to express distributivity<sup>15</sup> or reflexiveness), *dên* does not intervene between the two occurrences of the noun, as in 1Cor 12:7 ܠܠܚܕܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ, Gal 5:15 ܠܠܚܕܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ.<sup>16</sup> Such cases are attested in but a handful of instances, however, so that one can hardly take it as a “rule” in the proper sense of the word.

f) When the object of the preposition -ܠ *l-* is a pronominal suffix (e.g. ܠܝܠܐ *lâk*, ܠܗܘܢ *lhôn* etc.), the resulting prepositional syntagm — whatever its function and meaning — is usually not separated by *dên* from the predication on which it depends, unless the prepositional syntagm has been extraposed or brought to initial position.<sup>17</sup> To put it another way, such prepositional syntagms are not immediately preceded by *dên*. In practice, the most important uses of *l-* referred to are the use of *l-*:

- To indicate possession (or absence of possession) in the construction involving the existential particle *ît* and its negative counterpart *layt*. This case occurs five times: (with *ît*) Heb 13:10 ܠܠܚܕܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ, Jn 10:16 ܠܠܚܕܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ, 2Cor 4:7 ܠܠܚܕܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ; (with *layt*) Jn 5:7 ܠܠܚܕܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ, Mt 13:21 ܠܠܚܕܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ.

- As a verbal argument (whether it fulfills the function of dative or accusative), as in Lk 12:20 ܠܠܚܕܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ, Lk 18:15 ܠܠܚܕܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ, Lk 19:43 ܠܠܚܕܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ, Mt 17:12... ܠܠܚܕܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ, 1Cor 11:2... ܠܠܚܕܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ.<sup>18</sup>

first word of the clause. However, these cases can usually be explained on account of other principles: e.g. Mt 13:21 ܠܠܚܕܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ can be explained by the rule involving prepositional syntagms with *l-* and pronominal suffix (see below).

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Muraoka 1997, §71a and Nöldeke 1966, §202C.

<sup>16</sup> For the behaviour of *dên* used in combination with the conjunction ܐܢ *ên* “if”, see below.

<sup>17</sup> Unfortunately, the evidence is too sparse to assess whether the same applies to -ܐ *b-*, the other proclitic preposition.

<sup>18</sup> In the two last instances, it is worthy of notice that two different rules are at work: (1)

- As the so-called “dativus ethicus”, as in Mt 10:6 **לֹא לְחַם** **וְלֹא לְחַם**, 1Pet 4:7 **לֹא לְחַם** **וְלֹא לְחַם**.

- In combination with **וְ** *wây* in the expression **וְ** *wây* **לֹא** “woe unto...”, as in Mt 26:24 **וְ** **לֹא** **וְ** **לֹא**, 1Cor 9:16 **וְ** **לֹא** **וְ** **לֹא**.

Naturally, when the preposition *l-* does not introduce a pronominal suffix, this rule does not hold anymore, as in Lk 21:23 **וְ** **לֹא** **וְ** **לֹא**, 1Cor 7:8 **וְ** **לֹא** **וְ** **לֹא**.

g) As for those prepositional syntagms that introduce a substantive instead of a pronominal suffix, usage displays considerable diversity. It appears, however, that the behaviour of prepositions varies according to their original nature:<sup>19</sup>

- As might be expected, the proclitics *b-* and *l-* have no impact on the position of *dên*: compare Jn 20:4 **וְ** **לֹא** **וְ** **לֹא** with Jn 18:15 **וְ** **לֹא** **וְ** **לֹא**, Mt 13:1 **וְ** **לֹא** **וְ** **לֹא**, Act 12:1 **וְ** **לֹא** **וְ** **לֹא** etc.<sup>20</sup>

- With the original prepositions (such as **מִן** *men* “from”, **עַל** *‘al* “on”, **כְּ** *ak* “like”, **בְּ** *‘am* “with”), *dên* displays a rather strong tendency not to intervene either. Thus always with *men*, as in Mt 7:16 **וְ** **לֹא** **וְ** **לֹא**, Mk 10:6... **וְ** **לֹא** **וְ** **לֹא** and *ak*, as in Mt 23:3 **וְ** **לֹא** **וְ** **לֹא**, 1Cor 4:18... **וְ** **לֹא** **וְ** **לֹא**. With *‘al*, however, usage varies, as the following contrast between Mt 24:36 **וְ** **לֹא** **וְ** **לֹא** and Mk 13:32 **וְ** **לֹא** **וְ** **לֹא** will show. Yet, it can be safely claimed that in general *‘al* falls into line with the two prepositions already discussed,<sup>21</sup> as in Heb 1:8 **וְ** **לֹא** **וְ** **לֹא**, Mt 22:31 **וְ** **לֹא** **וְ** **לֹא**.

- With the other prepositions (*i.e.* those of substantival origin), in the few attested instances usage varies so much that it proves impossible to formulate any definitive rule, as the following examples illustrate: (with **כִּי**) Jn 10:5 **וְ** **לֹא** **וְ** **לֹא**, Mt 1:12 **וְ** **לֹא** **וְ** **לֹא** (vs. Mt 25:19 **וְ** **לֹא** **וְ** **לֹא**) but Mt 14:1 **וְ** **לֹא** **וְ** **לֹא**.

the rule under discussion (concerning *l-*) and (2) the rule regarding the enclitics discussed before.

<sup>19</sup> Given the scarcity of the evidence, the results of the examination in connection with the prepositions have been cross-checked with the similar particle **לְ** *gér* “for” in order to supplement and confirm the analysis. The present writer hopes to treat this more fully in the future.

<sup>20</sup> As a matter of fact, this applies to all proclitics, so that the same can be said of *d-* in its various uses, *e.g.* Mt 9:6 **וְ** **לֹא** **וְ** **לֹא**, Mk 10:40 **וְ** **לֹא** **וְ** **לֹא** (*etc.*) as well as of the coordinating conjunction *w-* “and”, *e.g.* 1Cor 15:12 **וְ** **לֹא** **וְ** **לֹא** vs. Rom 8:10 **וְ** **לֹא** **וְ** **לֹא** (although *w-* and *dên* do not occur together very frequently).

<sup>21</sup> In that all other instances where *dên* interferes occur in three consecutive verses (2Pet 1:5-7), so that a specific patterning due to the context of the discourse can be suggested.

<sup>22</sup> The compound **וְ** **לֹא** forms *one* prepositional unit and can therefore not be dissociated.

(with *ḥlā*) Mt 24:22... *ḥlā ḥḥā ḥlā*, Philem 1:9... *ḥlā ḥḥā ḥlā* but Mk 6:26 *ḥlā ḥlā ḥlā ḥlā*, Gal 2:4 *ḥlā ḥlā ḥlā*.

In connection with this, when prepositions are combined with the proclitic *d-* such as to produce subordinating conjunctions, usage varies as well, but on the whole *dên* tends not to intervene between the preposition and the proclitic,<sup>23</sup> as the following examples will show: Mk 1:14 *ḥlā ḥlā ḥlā ḥlā*, 2Cor 6:13 *ḥlā ḥlā ḥlā ḥlā*, 1Tim 5:15 *ḥlā ḥlā ḥlā ḥlā* (with the particle *gêr*) 1Cor 1:21 *ḥlā ḥlā ḥlā ḥlā*, Heb 2:14 *ḥlā ḥlā ḥlā ḥlā*.

As could be gathered from some of the examples above, if the clause opens with a combination of such sequences, *dên* will occur in fourth — or even fifth — position, as in Jn 12:42 *ḥlā ḥlā ḥlā ḥlā*, where *dên* occurs in the fourth slot, because the first word is *âp* that is never separated from the word it modifies and the second word is the preposition *men* that is reluctant to be separated from the word it introduces. Likewise Lk 12:8 *ḥlā ḥlā ḥlā ḥlā* ... *ḥlā ḥlā ḥlā ḥlā*, where *dên* also occurs in fourth position, because the first two words are a sequence predicative participle + enclitic pronoun and the third word is the preposition *l-* with a pronominal suffix, functioning as a verbal argument. One extreme instance of this is Mt 26:32... *ḥlā ḥlā ḥlā ḥlā*, where *dên* occurs in fifth position because (1) *men* and *bâtar* form one prepositional unit (cf. above), (2) *men bâtar* and *d-* cannot be dissociated<sup>24</sup> and (3) the predicative participle (introduced by *d-*) cannot be separated from the enclitic pronoun that follows.

4. Finally, when a conjunction introduces the clause and therefore occurs in first position, the particle *dên* is liable to behave in two different ways: either *dên* retains the position that it should have irrespective of the conjunction, or it is placed in the second slot, immediately after the conjunction. The following contrast (involving the subordinating conjunction *ḥlā* *kad* “when”) illustrates these two possibilities: Lk 5:20 *ḥlā ḥlā ḥlā ḥlā* (no change) vs. Act 16:10 *ḥlā ḥlā ḥlā ḥlā* (*dên* in the second slot).

In this context, usage varies much more than in the cases discussed so far, so that it is rather difficult to formulate hard and fast *rules*. Yet, in many cases a definite *tendency* appears to be at work, namely *dên* tends to retain the position when the preceding word is a monosyllable of the form CCVC,

<sup>23</sup> As opposed to the combinations of other parts of speech and *d-*: see above.

<sup>24</sup> This is one of the cases where the prepositional element of a subordinating conjunction cannot be separated from the proclitic *d-* (see above), so that *ḥlā ḥlā ḥlā* *men bâtar d-* can be taken as one unit.

CvC or CvC(=C)<sup>25</sup> or, to put it another way, *dên* will more readily occur in second position when the word in question is longer.

In the New Testament, this state of affairs is attested essentially with two conjunctions: *kad* (as in the example above) and *ên* “if”.<sup>26</sup>

With the conjunction *kad*, this tendency is fairly regular. Typical instances are Mt 12:46 *חלל בן אדם* (monosyllabic personal pronoun), Mt 8:10 *עבד בן עבד* (CCvC), Jn 2:22... *בן פה* (CvC) and Mt 8:5 *עבד בן חל* (CvC(=C)). As can be gathered from the foregoing examples, this is especially the case with verbal forms. With respect to this, it is worthy of notice that verbal forms such as *שמע* — which are really monosyllabic — are not treated differently, *i.e.* they display the same positional distribution (and therefore variation) as, say, *שמע* “he heard”, *e.g.* Lk 20:16... *בן שמע*, but Mt 20:24 *בן שמע חסיד*. Along the same lines, usage is just as equivocal as regards those polysyllabic verbal forms that are morphologically equivalent to the monosyllabic forms under discussion, namely the Peal perfect of *שמע* and *שמע* verbs (which display a full vowel after the first root consonant), as can be seen in the contrast between: Mt 16:13 *עבד שמע* and Rom 7:9 *בן שמע*.

As already stated, however, this phenomenon is but a tendency, so that exceptions are to be expected. In the first place, it happens in a handful of cases that *dên* retains its position whereas it occurs in combination with a longer verbal element, as in Lk 20:14 *בן שמע*, Mt 22:41 *בן שמע* and Mt 25:5 *בן שמע*.<sup>27</sup> Exceptions involving monosyllables have already been mentioned, but the contrast between Jn 20:19 *בן שמע* and Mt 27:1 *בן שמע* can be added, for it is all the more surprising that it is (fortuitously?) constant, both nouns *שמע* and *שמע* repeatedly occurring in these same word-order patterns (six times and two times respectively).<sup>28</sup> Although one might see a form of chiasmic structure at work behind such a contrastive patterning, the question remains whether this is deliberate or not.

With the conjunction *ên* this phenomenon also occurs, even if it is less apparent. Although *ên* more often than not attracts *dên* to itself, as in Mt

<sup>25</sup> The symbols *v* and *vv* stand for short and long vowels respectively. The symbol CvC(=C) represents those monosyllables that end (or used to end) in a geminate consonant, *f.i.* *רב(b)* “great” (st.abs.), *חל* “al” “he entered”.

<sup>26</sup> It may be ventured that this is due to their shortness.

<sup>27</sup> Disregarding the equivocal *שמע* and *שמע* verbs, according to the count of the present writer polysyllables occur 20 times after, nine times before *dên*.

<sup>28</sup> Disregarding the equivocal forms mentioned above as well as the eight instances involving *שמע*, according to the count of the present writer monosyllables occur 48 times before and only ten times after *dên*.



6:23 ܕܥܢ ܕܥܢ ܕܥܢ ܕܥܢ, *dên* also appears in third position when the word that precedes is a monosyllabic personal pronoun, as in Rom 2:17 ܕܥܢ ܕܥܢ ܕܥܢ ܕܥܢ, or the indefinite (*e*)*nâš* “one” as in Jn 11:10 ܕܥܢ ܕܥܢ ܕܥܢ.<sup>29</sup> With a few exceptions, in the other cases — that usually display either a polysyllable or one of the indissociable sequences discussed above — it occurs immediately after *ên*, as in Mt 24:48 ܕܥܢ ܕܥܢ ܕܥܢ, Mk 9:50 ܕܥܢ ܕܥܢ etc.<sup>30</sup>

## Discussion

When one has a closer look at the placement of *dên* within the clause, it does not take long to disprove Brockelmann’s categorical statement according to which *dên* always occurs in second position. Besides, Ungnad’s view that the placement of *dên* is dependent on stress patterns cannot be accepted as such: although such an influence is theoretically not impossible, it does not yield much explanatory power, for even in those cases where it may be argued that the group of words before *dên* forms but *one* stress unit, the question remains why it does so.<sup>31</sup> Since not many other views have been put forward, the whole question of the position of *dên* remains largely unresolved.

<sup>29</sup> This is most surprising, for according to other attestations (*e*)*nâš* is usually not (and should not be) treated as a monosyllabic unit. Indeed, all other cases where (*e*)*nâš* occurs before *dên* can be explained on account of specific factors (such as the fact that (*e*)*nâš* is extraposed / brought to initial position, or used together with *koll* etc.). On the other hand, most instances where (*e*)*nâš* follows *dên* can apparently not be explained on the basis of such factors: it therefore seems plausible to suggest that they display the usual position of (*e*)*nâš*, which in turn would point to the fact that (*e*)*nâš* does not belong to the monosyllables as described before.

<sup>30</sup> Out of the many instances where *ên* and *dên* occur in first and third position respectively, only two feature a polysyllabic constituent in second position (in both cases it is the prepositional phrase ܕܥܢ, and it can be argued that some pragmatic parameter such as the focal dimension is at work), bearing in mind the ambiguous behaviour of (*e*)*nâš*. On the other hand, out of the even more numerous instances where *dên* occurs in second position (*i.e.* immediately after *ên*) only in a handful of cases the word after *dên* could lay claim to the second position, once all polysyllables and indissociable sequences have been ruled out. Finally, it should also be noted that in the New Testament the conjunction *ên* is not attested in combination with bare monosyllabic verbs, so that the tendency observed with *kad* cannot be checked.

<sup>31</sup> In connection with this, according to the views introduced in this paper, the instance adduced by Ungnad in order to exemplify the influence of stress, namely ܕܥܢ ܕܥܢ ܕܥܢ, might be explained on account of two of the rules discussed above: on the one hand the fact that the enclitics are not usually separated from the predicate that precedes them, on the other hand possibly a tendency not unlike the one observed in connection with the preposition *l* + pronominal suffix.

Yet, on the basis of the facts presented above the following observations can be made:

1. For the most part, the position of *dên* can be accounted for without having to refer to extra-clausal parameters. This suggests that the placement of *dên* is essentially a *clause*-internal matter, in contrast to many other linguistic parameters whose underlying principles seem to be sensitive to the larger context (*i.e.* the *discourse*) in which they occur. In practice, this means that the principles governing the position of *dên* within the clause need not be looked for elsewhere than within the structure of the clause itself.

2. Within the structure of the clause, now, it appears that the position of *dên* is first and foremost a question of *surface* structure.<sup>32</sup> In other words, the position of *dên* is essentially conditioned by *formal* rather than *functional* parameters, in that it does not depend on the *function* of the other constituents of the clause, but rather on the concrete *form* that these constituents assume as well as on the constraints that they impose on the surface layer (notably on word-ordering patterns).<sup>33</sup>

This state of affairs comes out most clearly when one looks at the placement of *dên* from the angle of its internal dynamics:

a) The basic position of the particle *dên* is fixed as the second slot of the clause, whatever constituent comes in first position and irrespective of the function which that constituent may fulfil.

b) When the first constituent of the clause is complex, it usually splits, *i.e.* it becomes discontinuous such as to allow *dên* to intervene. It therefore appears that the unity of the words that compose this constituent yields to the rule according to which *dên* should occur in the second slot of the clause. In other words, *underlying* unity gives way to *surface* pressure.

<sup>32</sup> Within the context of this paper, the term “surface structure” refers to that layer of the clause structure where concrete linguistic expressions are produced out of underlying structures, by means of particular rules — called “expression rules” within the conceptual framework of Functional Grammar — that fully specify them in terms of (phono- and morphological) form, word order and prosodic contours: *cf.* Dik 1997a, pp. 339ff.

<sup>33</sup> Naturally, the formal parameters just mentioned may themselves be dependent on the underlying clause structure, *e.g.* the fact that two words do not allow themselves to be separated by any intervening word at the surface level usually reflects a close unit at a deeper level of the clause structure. What is meant, however, is merely that the position of *dên* appears to be sensitive to the formal parameters themselves rather than to the functional principles that may underlie them.

3. However, it has been pointed out that certain sequences of words do not split such as to let *dên* intervene. In these cases, the sequence is treated as a single unit, so that *dên* has to follow or precede the whole sequence. As opposed to the types of constituents mentioned above, therefore, it appears that the unity that obtains at some level or other of the clause structure is so tight that the phrase is unable — or at least reluctant — to split.

The reason why it is so is not absolutely clear, but it can be conjectured that the (in)ability to split is dependent on the cohesion that binds together the words involved in the composition of the constituent or sequence. In this respect, the following remarks can be ventured:

a) Words that have a largely *appositional* value (*i.e.* essentially genuine appositions and adjectives) display a rather loose unity with the head of the constituent and therefore tolerate separation therefrom. Likewise, constituents whose components stand on both sides of a syntactic boundary (such as those constituents composed of a (pro)noun / adverb and a subordinate clause introduced by the proclitic *d-*) display a natural “breaking-point” precisely on that syntactic boundary.

b) Other types of units are too tight to tolerate any dissociation. To put it another way, the cohesion of these units at some level of the underlying clause structure is such that it is reflected at the surface layer as a constraint — against discontinuity — laid upon the word-ordering patterns, a constraint to which the principles governing the placement of *dên* are sensitive.<sup>34</sup> Essentially, this type of unity obtains between an adverb (such as *lâ* and *âp*) and the word it modifies, between most prepositions (*e.g.* *men*, *ak* etc.) and the word that they introduce, or between a predicate and the copulative element that is associated thereto.

4. Apart from the various complex constituents and sequences discussed above, it also happens that *dên* does not occur in second position without one’s being able to relate this to structural units of any kind in the underlying clause structure. However, it has also been suggested that this could be explained in terms of the *phonological* structure of the constituents in-

<sup>34</sup> Interestingly, the cohesion of these structural units is also shown by the fact that many of the words involved lend themselves quite easily to crasis, *e.g.* ܕܡܢܐܢ (for ܕܡܢ ܐܢܐ), ܐܡܢ (for ܐܡܢ ܡܢ), ܐܡܢܐ (for ܐܡܢ ܐܢܐ); ܕܡܢܐܢ and ܕܡܢܐ (for ܕܡܢ ܐܢܐ and ܕܡܢ ܐܢܐ respectively); ܕܡܢܐ and ܕܡܢܐ (for ܕܡܢ ܐܢܐ and ܕܡܢ ܐܢܐ respectively). The fact that other words than these (*e.g.* the conjunction *ên*) can also undergo crasis is not an argument against this, for it very often has another explanation. For instance, the conjunction *ên* does not infrequently undergo crasis with the negative *lâ* (hence ܕܡܢܐ for ܕܡܢ ܐܢܐ), but in such cases it generally does not have the meaning “if... not...”, but the more specialized meaning “but, except”.

volved, in that short (or “light”) constituents tend to occur towards the beginning of the clause and accordingly not infrequently keep *dên* away from the second slot. It is worthy of notice that this view is totally in line with what has been said so far, namely that the placement of *dên* obtains at the surface layer, for the phonological dimension pertains precisely to that level of the clause structure.<sup>35</sup>

## Conclusion

In final analysis, the placement of the particle *dên* appears to obtain at the surface layer of the clause structure and can be analysed in terms of one basic rule (*dên* in the second slot) that interacts with — and is challenged by — two other parameters: the one linear (the fact that certain types of sequences are unable to split), the other phonological (the tendency of shorter words to keep *dên* away from the second slot).

On the whole, Dik’s view on the question of word order<sup>36</sup> proves true here as well.

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<sup>35</sup> Moreover, it can be underlined that the tendency under discussion is probably not the only phonological parameter that influences the placement of *dên*. To mention but one example, the placement of prepositional syntagms involving *l-* and a pronominal suffix is obviously linked to the phonological layer: as it was underscored, this specific placement (*i.e.* prepositional syntagm before *dên*) does not obtain when *l-* does not introduce a pronominal suffix, in other words when *l-* introduces a longer element.

<sup>36</sup> According to which the actual linear ordering of the words in the clause results from a struggle between various — and possibly widely divergent — principles: *cf.* Dik 1997a, pp. 394–6.

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# ‘Āshūrā’ Day and Yom Kippur

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## Abstract

*‘Āshūrā’, characterized by fasting and mourning, commemorates Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī’s murder. This paper discusses ‘Āshūrā’s origin, historical background, symbols and rituals, and shows similarities between ‘Āshūrā’ and the Jewish Yom Kippur. Scholars disagree about the origin of the word “Āshūrā.” Some believe it derives from Hebrew; others claim that the word is of Arabic origin. Most agree that ‘Āshūrā’ was designated an annual fast to atone for sins, purify the faithful, and thank God. We discuss the miracles that occurred on ‘Āshūrā’, and blessings bestowed upon those who observe it, as well as differences and similarities, including dates, observances like affliction, confession, forgiveness, and connection to Judgement Day. The significance of Yom Kippur is its atonement for sins and asking forgiveness, like ‘Āshūrā’, which preserves Ḥusayn’s memory. Repentance, fasting, affliction, and purification through ritual bestow rewards. These evoke, despite great differences, characteristics of the Jewish Yom Kippur.*

## Introduction

‘Āshūrā’ Day, the tenth day of the month of *al-Muḥarram*, is the remembrance day for the murder of Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī at Karbalā’ in the year 680. The day and its accompanying ceremonies are characterized by lamentation, fasting and mourning.

In the Battle of Karbalā’ Ḥusayn, the second son of the ‘*Imām*’ ‘Alī and grandson of the Prophet Muḥammad, attempted to fulfill his right to rule, but was cruelly murdered along with many members of his family. Ḥusayn

was defeated by the Umayyad ruler Yazīd Ibn Mu‘āwiyā’s army. This mass murder left a deep impression in the consciousness of the Shī‘ites, and made Ḥusayn martyr, the victim of injustice. Karbalā’ became a religious and national symbol, and every year the Shī‘ites mark ‘Āshūrā’ Day with mourning and eulogies. On this day the Shī‘ites fast, afflict themselves, eulogize Ḥusayn and recall his memory.

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the origin of ‘Āshūrā’ Day, to describe its characteristic symbols and the rituals conducted on the day, and to try to discover points of comparison and similarity between the Shī‘ite Moslem holiday and the Jewish fast of Yom Kippur, the most important holiday in the Jewish calendar.

### The Origin of the Word “‘Āshūrā’”

Scholars disagree about the origin of the word “‘Āshūrā’.” Some are of the opinion that its origin is Hebrew, deriving from the word *eser* (i.e. the tenth day of the month of *Muḥarram*). Others claim that the word is of ancient Arabic origin, as early as the period of the Jāhiliyya, or dating from the time of the Prophet Muḥammad. Some scholars assert that the reason for the name ‘Āshūrā’ is that God performed ten miracles for ten prophets; another opinion maintains that this day marks the tenth of the ten miracles that God performed for the Arab nation.

Al-Bustānī, for example, believes that *al-‘Āshūrā’*, or *al-‘Āshūrī*, is the Arabic version of *Yod b’Tishre* (tenth of *Tishre*). Al-Bayrūnī also believes that the word ‘Āshūrā’ is of Arabized Hebrew origin, and its meaning is “ten.” *Al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad* (d. 786? AD) writes that the Arabs took the word from the Biblical verse *b’chodesh hashevi’i b’asor lachodesh* (in the seventh month on the tenth day of the month) and constructed the name according to the structure of *Fā’ūlā’*, lengthening the Hebrew word *asor* to ‘Āshūrā’.<sup>1</sup>

The origin of the holy day is also controversial. Was this day one of the holy days of the *Jāhiliyya*, or did it originate from a Jewish holiday? We will discuss the latter opinion later. Those that hold the opinion that this holiday is so named because it marks the tenth of the miracles, understand that its origin is related to the belief that God granted the Moslem nation ten miracles:

God forgave Adam for his sin,  
Noah’s ark came to rest on Mt. Al-Jūdī (Arrart),  
Abraham was born on the same day,

<sup>1</sup> al-Bayrūnī, n.d., p. 330; al-Miṣrī, 1980, 4/569 s.v. (‘A.sh.r).

God rescued Joseph from the pit,  
 God crossed the sea before Moses in the exodus from Egypt,  
 God forgave David for his sin,  
 God rescued the prophet Yūnis (Jonah) from the belly of the whale,  
 Jesus was born and ascended to heaven on the same date,  
 God exalted the Prophet Muḥammad and favored him over all other prophets,  
 God chose the Moslem nation and favored it over all other nations of the world.

Other scholars cite different miracles when enumerating the ten miracles, but most agree that 'Āshūrā' Day was designated an annual fast day in order to atone for sins and purify the faithful, and to thank God for the miracles and wonders that He performed for the Arab Nation.<sup>2</sup>

### Historical Background

The tenth day of *Muḥarram* ('Āshūrā'), in the 61<sup>st</sup> year of the *hijra* (10/10/680), the Battle of Karbalā' broke out between Ḥusayn b. 'Alī Ibn 'Abū Ṭālib the *'imām* of the Shī'ites, and the armies of 'Ubayd allah b. Ziyād (d. 686), the vizier of the Umayyad dynasty at Kufa. Ḥusayn and many members of his family and supporters were slaughtered, and Ḥusayn's head was sent to the Caliph Yazīd together with his captive wives and sisters.

The background to the battle was the struggle over the succession and for authority to stand at the head of Islam. In the year 632 the Prophet Muḥammad died, and his authority passed to his close friends, 'Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Alī. Their rule is known as the Period of the Four *Caliphs* (632-661). During this time the foundations of Moslem rule for the following centuries were established, but the problems that brought about schisms in Islam were created. Questions about ordination and authority were left open, and it was unclear which persons were to constitute the elite in the new Islamic nation.<sup>3</sup>

When 'Alī b. 'Abū Ṭālib (d. 661), cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet, was chosen as the fourth caliph, civil war broke out between the supporters of the Umayyad dynasty, the successors of the murdered Caliph 'Uthmān, and the supporters of 'Alī. The governor of Syria, Mu'āwiya b. 'Abū Sufyān (d. 680), led the Umayyad army. In 657 the Battle of Ṣiffīn broke out between the armies of 'Alī and Mu'āwiya, after which 'Alī' agreed to an arbi-

<sup>2</sup> Sindawi, 2000, p. 1-2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.



tration with Mu‘āwiya that would determine which of the two was entitled to rule the Caliphate. The arbitration agreement dangerously weakened ‘Alī’s position, and led to his murder four years later.

Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī, his second son, decided to recover for himself and his followers his father’s title to the caliphate. After the Umayyad caliph’s death, his son Yazīd (d. 683) ascended to power. Convinced that the opportune moment had arrived, Ḥusayn and his followers refused to swear loyalty to the caliph Yazīd.

In 680 Ḥusayn left Hijāz for Kūfa in southern Iraq to lead the anti-Umayyad revolt. As the Shī‘ite *‘imām* and successor of the Prophet Muḥammad, he believed he was pursuing his claim from a position of strength. But Kufa’s inhabitants, yielding to Yazīd’s pressure, withdrew their support, breaking their pledge. This is the background to the sense of guilt that accompanied the followers for deserting Ḥusayn, and one of the main reasons for the deep mourning and self-reproach accompanying the day of remembrance.

The legions sent by the Umayyad vizier of Kūfa took Ḥusayn and his followers by surprise as they entered the borders of Iraq. The decisive battle broke out at Karbalā’, on the western bank of the Euphrates. Ḥusayn and his men fought bravely but could not defeat Yazīd’s army. Ḥusayn, together with his supporters and family members, were killed.

The death of the grandson of the Prophet and of members of his family — who were also descendants of the Prophet — in the campaign against the Umayyads (who were, in the eyes of the Shī‘ites, usurpers) was seen as murder of martyrs. It had a profound effect on many who supported and loved the family of the Prophet. This historic event provided an enormous impetus for the religious development of ‘Alī’s faction.

“It started as a simple power struggle, but gradually it acquired theological elements. The personalities of ‘Alī and his successor Ḥusayn lost a dimension of reality as they gained religious significance. Frustrated rivalries led to the development of a highly evolved martyrology, a powerful motivating force in the evolution of the Shī‘ite community. Ḥusayn was transformed into a martyr, a hero who died for the sanctification of God.<sup>4</sup>

### The Origin of the Custom of ‘Āshūrā’ Day

The Battle of Karbalā’, in which Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī died while attempting to claim his right to rule, is deeply impressed on the consciousness of the Shī‘ites. Karbalā’ embodies a religious symbol as well as an instrumentality

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

of political struggle. Ḥusayn b. 'Alī represents the eternal struggle of between liberation and subjugation, between the forces of evil and the forces of good. Every generation has its Ḥusayn fighting on God's side, and an evil Yazīd fighting on Satan's side. This historical event remains so alive in the Shī'ite collective consciousness that "every place is Karbalā' and every day is 'Āshūrā' Day."

The Battle of Karbalā' and Ḥusayn's murder there is the most outstanding of all the events that left their imprint on the history of Islam. Although the Moslems had already split into two camps — the supporters of the second Shī'ite *'imām* 'Alī b. Ḥusayn, and the supporters of the Umayyads and their leader Mu'āwiya — the Shī'ite community had not yet consolidated. The historical memory of Ḥusayn's murder and the 'Āshūrā' Day rituals created a powerful religious symbol upon which the identity and religious passion of the Shī'ite community focused, which differentiated them from the *Sunnīs*.<sup>5</sup>

The Shī'ite collective memory captured and preserved the drama of the Battle of Karbalā', and bestowed upon it immense symbolic significance. The revival of the memory of Ḥusayn revives his connection with the twelve *'imāms*, the focus of Shī'ite faith.

Ḥusayn's suffering and anguish laid open a model embodying an exemplary way of life of self-sacrifice for a holy cause. Ḥusayn became a "prince of martyrs" (*sayyid shuhadā'*) and his suffering is perceived as the essence of historical injustice committed against the family of the Prophet. It metamorphosed the Shī'ites into a separate community whose banner is affliction. Ḥusayn's martyrdom was transformed into the "sanctified suffering," which became one of the central tenets of Shī'ite ideology. The *'imām's* suffering comprises an access to redemption, and his self-sacrifice purifies and atones for the faithful. Ḥusayn died in order to preserve Islam as a pure ideal of justice and truth.<sup>6</sup>

The event of Karbalā' is the origin of the custom, and of the annual memorial ceremonies in memory of Ḥusayn.

### 'Āshūrā' Day Rituals

The 'Āshūrā' Day rituals focus on lamentation, mourning and self-flagellation (both spiritual and physical). The rituals re-enact the episodes of the Battle of Karbalā' and Ḥusayn's defeat in dirges and lamentations, panto-

<sup>5</sup> Nakash, 1993, p. 161; Ram, 1998, pp. 50-58; For the status of Karbalā' see: Kanazi, 1992, pp. 179-194.

<sup>6</sup> Ram, 1998, p. 52; See also: Nakash, 1993, pp. 161-162; Ayoub, 1978, pp. 15, 52.

mime and theatre. It is not merely a commemoration of the death of a leader. It is a ceremony of atonement for sins, individual and communal.

The rituals are performed during the first ten days of the first month of the Moslem calendar, *Muḥarram*. The principal motivation is guilt and remorse; the aim is to receive Ḥusayn's forgiveness for abandoning him to die.<sup>7</sup>

The first 'Āshūrā' Day ritual was performed in 684, just four years after Ḥusayn's murder. It was a collective ritual of self-sacrifice: the faithful spent a day and a night at the grave of the 'imām, lamenting and mourning, and afterwards they walked in a procession of death across the battlefield of Karbalā'.

But the ritual's origin is much more ancient. Its roots reach back to the mourning for Tammuz in Babylon, or in its Greek version, for Adonis. Adonis (from the word *adon*, "master") was killed during a hunt. From his blood red flowers sprang up, as happened to the blood of Ḥusayn after his murder. Every year a mourning and eulogy rite was performed for Adonis, with the belief that he is resurrected every year. Arab writers adopted the symbol in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, and transformed it into a symbol of God who is killed by men and will be resurrected like Tammuz or Adonis.<sup>8</sup>

The collective mourning takes different forms in the various Moslem countries. The two most common forms are the elegy — a story of the tragic events of Karbalā' in poetry, story, pantomime and theatre (somewhat similar to Greek tragedy) — and procession. The first procession took place in 963, after the slackening of the Sunni regime.<sup>9</sup>

With the dispersion of Shī'ite communities and their increasing numbers beginning in the tenth century (in the days of the Buwayhids 935-1055, who were Shī'ite) the rituals of 'Āshūrā' Day developed and multiplied, but only after the proclamation of Shī'a as the official religion at the start of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (during the rule of 'Ismā'īl) did these rituals receive formal recognition. From the same period we have the first written documentation of these rituals. The rituals assumed their final form in Iran at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, where they are performed to this day.<sup>10</sup>

**Characteristics of the Ritual:** The faithful fast, refrain from shaving, and subsist on water only. Sometimes they do not bathe or change clothes. Some refrain from wearing shoes. Many refrain even from drinking water because Ḥusayn was fasting when he was killed.

During the days of the ritual a procession takes place. The participants

<sup>7</sup> Halm, 1997, p. 41.

<sup>8</sup> Leach & Fried, 1984, pp. 12-13.

<sup>9</sup> Halm, 1997, p. 42.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

wave flags, light candles, and sing lamentations accompanied by curses directed at the wicked Yazīd. During the procession the participants beg for water, symbolizing thirst.

It is noteworthy that this symbol plays an important role in the mourning ceremonies for Ḥusayn. The motif of Ḥusayn's thirst is common, and refers to the damming of the Euphrates during the campaign. It is said that the governor of Kufa and Baṣra 'Ubayd allah b. Ziyād (d. 686) ordered his subordinates to deprive Ḥusayn, his family and his subjects of access to the water of the Euphrates near Karbalā'. Thus access to the Euphrates and all the canals leading from it were obstructed, especially the al-Ghādiriyya canal conducting water to the area of Karbalā', where Ḥusayn and his subjects were located. As a result of the obstruction of access to the water canals, Ḥusayn and his company suffered greatly from thirst, and during the campaign at Karbalā' Ḥusayn's thirst grew more intense. The fighters mocked Ḥusayn's requests to be allowed to drink, jeering, "Is not your father 'Alī in charge of the spring (*al-Ḥawḍ*) in the Garden of Eden? He brings water to all those who love him. Be patient, and in a short time, when you die, your father will give you water from the spring in the Garden of Eden."<sup>11</sup>

The rituals and mourning, known as *Majālis Ḥusayniyya*, last ten days, the length of time that Ḥusayn spent at Karbalā' from the moment he arrived to the moment that he lost his life. During the two last days of the ceremony the participants lash themselves with whips and cut themselves with daggers and swords. They believe that the souls of Ḥusayn and his men that died during the month of *Muḥarram* ascended directly to Eden. This faith caused them to afflict themselves, even to death, for Ḥusayn.

Another belief is that Ḥusayn knew that he was to die, and took it upon himself to atone for the sins of others; had he not wanted to die, no power on earth could have overcome him. Ḥusayn, like Jesus, died for the community, and by his death he atoned for the sins of his people.<sup>12</sup>

Each of the ten days of the 'Āshūrā' ceremony comes to bring another death to mind, and embodies another episode from the Battle of Karbalā'. Every day commemorates one of the main historical events.

On the first to third days of *Muḥarram* Ḥusayn arrives at Karbalā' and negotiates in vain with 'Umar b. Sa'd, commander of the Umayyad army. The fourth day is dedicated to the memory of al-Ḥur b. Yazīd al-Riyāhī al-Tamīmī, commander of Yazīd's army, who defected to Ḥusayn's camp and died by his side. The fifth day is dedicated to remembering the slaughter of the young sons of Ḥusayn's sister Zaynab (d. 682). The sixth day — to

<sup>11</sup> Sindawi, 2000, p. 189-190.

<sup>12</sup> Halm, 1997, pp. 47-56. For details see: Sindawi, 2000, pp. 232-240.

mourning over the death of Ḥusayn’s oldest son ‘Alī al-‘Akbar, aged 18; the boy was hit by Murru b. Munqidh al-‘Abdī; while protecting his father he died in his father’s arms. Occasionally on this day the death of his youngest child is also mourned; he was hit in the neck by an arrow. On the seventh day — the death of his unfortunate son-in-law al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan is remembered; he married Ḥusayn’s daughter and died on his wedding anniversary. The eighth day is dedicated to mourning for Ḥusayn’s half-brother al-‘Abbās, whose hands were cut off as he went to fetch water from the Euphrates for those under siege.

On the ninth and tenth days, the high point of the ritual, the mourning for the death of Ḥusayn himself is commemorated. On these days a procession of self-flagellation is held. The young men — including small boys — take this upon themselves: they cut themselves, lash themselves, and stab themselves with daggers. In this way they atone for the iniquities of the entire community.<sup>13</sup>

### The Merits of ‘Āshūrā’ Day

The virtues of this day became associated with it after Ḥusayn’s murder in 680. Before that date there were no special attributes to ‘Āshūrā’ Day; in retrospect the Shī‘ites attribute to it characteristics and virtues from much earlier periods.

These are its attributes: On this day God created the sky; Noah left the ark on ‘Āshūrā’ Day; the prophets Abraham and Moses were born; the sea parted for the Israelites on ‘Āshūrā’ Day; Fāṭima, Ḥusayn’s mother, was born; and Hasan and Ḥusayn, her two sons, were also born on ‘Āshūrā’ Day.

Moreover, on this day God created the sky, the mountains and the stars; the hidden tablet; the angel Gabriel and the rest of the angels; Adam and Eve, and the Garden of Eden, and put Adam in the Garden of Eden; created Abraham, drowned Pharaoh and his hosts in the sea; raised the prophet ‘Idrīs (Enoch) to heaven; forgave the prophet Yūnis (Jonah) and rescued him from the belly of the whale; delivered Job from his troubles on ‘Āshūrā’ Day; raised Jesus to heaven; forgave David his sin; and gave Solomon the kingdom. Both Jesus and Muḥammad were born on ‘Āshūrā’ Day, and God sat on his royal throne on this day; ‘Āshūrā’ Day will be Judgment Day.<sup>14</sup>

The designation of ‘Āshūrā’ Day as a fast day also predates the murder of

<sup>13</sup> Halm, 1997, pp. 62-63.

<sup>14</sup> Khawārizim, 1948, p. 2.

Ḥusayn. Why was this holy day designated as a fast day? Some believe that the fact that the Jews fasted on the tenth day of *Tishre* prompted the Prophet Muḥammad to command Moslems to fast as well, since Moslems are more worthy than the Jews to honor the day.

'Abū Mūsā wrote: "‘Āshūrā’ Day was the day that the Jews honored and exalted. In particular, this was the holy day of the Jews who lived in Khaybar on the Arabian Peninsula, who fasted and celebrated ‘Āshūrā’ Day. Then the Prophet Muḥammad, may his name be blessed, said, "You will fast on this day. You are more worthy."<sup>15</sup>

Additional reasons offered for designating ‘Āshūrā’ Day as a fast day are: the prophets used to fast on this day, the Prophet Muḥammad himself would fast on ‘Āshūrā’ Day; the Prophet Muḥammad ordered his followers to fast on ‘Āshūrā’ Day; the Shī’ite custom is to fast on ‘Āshūrā’ Day in order to identify with and have compassion upon Ḥusayn, the grandson of the Prophet, who was cruelly murdered on this day; out of compassion for the body of Ḥusayn that was cut with the sword, on the decapitated head of Ḥusayn, on his body that horses trampled upon; Ḥusayn’s baby who was killed by an arrow, out of compassion on the one of whom it is said: Whoever loves Ḥusayn God will love and welcome to the Garden of Eden.<sup>16</sup>

### The Merits of Fasting on ‘Āshūrā’ Day

Said the messenger of God: he who fasts on ‘Āshūrā’ Day will be inscribed as if he fasted and prayed for sixty years.

And he who fasts on ‘Āshūrā’ Day will be inscribed for a reward of the seven heavens. And he who breaks the fast of the faithful and feeds him, will be considered as if he fed the entire nation, the prayers of Allah be upon him and upon his family. And he who satisfies his hunger on ‘Āshūrā’ Day God will raise in stature in the Garden of Eden by many levels, as many as the hairs on his head.

God will increase the income of he who deals kindly with the members of his family on this day for that entire year. The ‘Āshūrā’ Holiday is as worthy as seventy holy days. And the dogma of dogmas, the fast of the ‘Āshūrā’ Day atones for all sins.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> al-Yaḥṣubiyy, , 1998, 4/84. See also: Khaṭṭāb, 1950, Vol. 1, pp. 364-368.

<sup>16</sup> Jamāl al-Dīn b. al-Wāḥid, 1948, pp. 98-100.

<sup>17</sup> Khawārizim, 1948, p. 1-2.

## ‘Āshūrā’ Day as Opposed to Yom Kippur

“And it shall be a statute for ever unto you: in the seventh month, on the tenth day of the month, ye shall afflict your souls ... For on this day shall atonement be made for you to cleans you; from all your sins shall ye be clean before the Lord.”<sup>18</sup> The three central elements of Yom Kippur in Judaism — afflicting the soul, atonement for sins, and purification — are also important elements of ‘Āshūrā’ Day.

Moslem believers who sanctify ‘Āshūrā’ Day by fasting attain atonement for sins. This day and this fast are for the purpose of atoning for sins once a year, in a form reminiscent of the atonement for sins in Judaism, as it is written “... to make atonement for the children of Israel because of all their sins once in the year ...”<sup>19</sup>

The primary definition of the word *kippur* (atonement) is atonement for sins, but in the Bible it is used in other ways as well. It is used in the context of defense — Jacob sends Esau a gift in order to prevent him from attacking the camp: “...For he said: ‘I will appease him ...’”<sup>20</sup> A similar meaning appear in the book of Exodus; there the ransom serves to replace the punishment: “If there be laid on him a ransom ....”<sup>21</sup> Finally, the sacrifice brought to the priests in the Temple serves as atonement, and the living blood that is spilled atones and purifies. “As hath been done this day, so the Lord hath commanded to do, to make atonement for you.”<sup>22</sup>

In the following pages we will discuss the differences and similarities between the two fast days.

## Points of Comparison

At first glance there is no similarity between Yom Kippur and ‘Āshūrā’ Day whatsoever. Yom Kippur is a religious holiday encompassing commandments between man and his fellow and between man and his Maker. It is a sabbath of solemn rest, the most important holiday in Judaism. Though ‘Āshūrā’ Day is a religious holiday, it is mainly a political commemoration and a day of national mourning. Yom Kippur has none of the political connotations that characterize ‘Āshūrā’ Day.

<sup>18</sup> Leviticus 16:29-30.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 16:34.

<sup>20</sup> Genesis 32:21.

<sup>21</sup> Exodus 21:29.

<sup>22</sup> Leviticus 8:34, Leibtag.

Moreover, the Yom Kippur prayers take place in a closed place, within the walls of the synagogue, while the rituals of 'Āshūrā' Day usually take place in the streets and public plazas; Jews wear white holiday clothes in order to come close to God, while the Shī'ites dress in black and strike their faces with their hands in grief.

Another difference is that while the Shī'ites grieve and lament their defeat in battle 1300 years ago, the Jews remember the miracles and deliverance that God performed for them. "It is he who redeemed us from the hand of kings, even our King, who delivered us from the grasp of all tyrants; the God, who on our behalf dealt out punishment to our adversaries; who doeth great things past finding out, yea, and wonders without number."<sup>23</sup> However, the Shī'ites do not believe that their God deserted them. On the contrary, they are certain that God was with Ḥusayn in that battle, and had he wanted to he could have over come his enemies easily, but he chose death in order to atone by his death for the sins of his people.

Notwithstanding, we see fit to draw a comparison, as many elements of 'Āshūrā' Day are reminiscent of the Jewish Yom Kippur, sometimes bearing a remarkable resemblance. We will start with the date on which the holiday falls for the two peoples.

**The dates of the holidays:** 'Āshūrā' Day falls on the tenth day of the month of *Muḥarram*, which is the first month of the Hijra year. Yom Kippur falls on the tenth day of *Tishre*, the tenth day of the first month of the Jewish year.

**The obligation to fast:** The commandment to fast on Yom Kippur is one of the most important in Judaism. So much so, that everyone must fast and he who does not fast is condemned to death: "For whatsoever soul it be that shall not be afflicted in that same day, he shall be cut off from his people."<sup>24</sup> The Shī'ites also believe that it is designated as an annual fast day in order to atone for the sins of the faithful, and whoever does not fast on that day must die.

It is to be noted that several scholars are of the opinion that the very designation of 'Āshūrā' as a fast day took place because of the Jewish fast on the tenth of *Tishre*, and thus it was the Jewish day of atonement that motivated the Prophet Muḥammad to command Moslems to fast on that day.

**Prayer and thanksgiving:** One of the functions of this holiday is to thank God for the miracles and wonders that he performed for the Moslem nation, and because he chose the Moslems of all the nations. It is enough to compare this faith to the verse from the Yom Kippur prayers: "Thou hast

<sup>23</sup> Authorized Daily Prayer Book, 1965.

<sup>24</sup> Leviticus 23:29.



chosen us from all peoples; thou hast loved us and taken pleasure in us  
 ...<sup>25</sup>

**Suffering and anguish:** The suffering of Ḥusayn and the suffering of the faithful, is perhaps the main characteristic of ‘Āshūrā’ Day, is also an important characteristic of Yom Kippur: the Torah says “... and you shall afflict your souls” (Numbers 29:7).

The Gemara speaks of five types of afflictions: “On Yom Kippur it is forbidden to eat or drink or wash or anoint oneself or to wear shoes or to engage in marital relations” (Yoma, 72, 73) That is to say, these prohibitions apply to everything that can cause pleasure: eating and drinking, bathing, wearing shoes, and the pleasures of the body. These five afflictions are juxtaposed with the five books of the Pentateuch, the five senses, the five times that the word “soul” appears in the scriptural reading on the Day of Atonement, and the five prayers unique to Yom Kippur that are offered on this day: the evening prayer, the morning prayer, the additional service, the afternoon prayer, and the conclusion service.

Similar prohibitions apply on the fast of ‘Āshūrā’. The prohibitions apply to any activity that can cause pleasure: eating drinking, bathing, wearing shoes, and the pleasures of the body.

**Lamentation and confession:** Songs of lamentation accompany ‘Āshūrā’ Day, both during the rituals and in the dramas composed to honor the day. Sad melodies, especially the melody of *Kol Nidre*, accompany Yom Kippur. The melody of *Kol Nidre* which opens the fast, “is completely wrapped in grief, a long night song of sorrowful men approach knocking at the door of repentance and murmuring in contrition, this sad prayer is called *Kol Nidre*.<sup>26</sup>

**The ten “Days of Awe”:** In Judaism Yom Kippur is preceded by the ten days of repentance, whose function is to prepare the heart. “Repentance and crying is befitting to the world — during the ten days of repentance they are the most befitting.” Not only for the individual, but for the public. When they cry wholeheartedly they are answered. (From the Rambam’s *Laws of Repentance*).

These days are characterized by requests for forgiveness and pardon. Forgiveness not only between Israel and his God but also between man and his fellow. The key aspect of the public prayer “We have sinned, ” “For the sin that we have committed before you whether under duress or eagerly...”

‘Āshūrā’ Day is also characterized by the preceding ten days, days dominated by crying and mourning, but in a different sense. Although the faith-

<sup>25</sup> Authorized Daily Prayer Book, 1965.

<sup>26</sup> Lanoi, 1971, p. 228.

ful confess their sins, there are no long lists of sins, but rather one sin: the faithful request Ḥusayn's forgiveness for deserting him and letting him die, but also aim to avenge his blood.<sup>27</sup>

During the Days of Awe there is both a personal and public **confession**, in both communities.

**Day of Judgement:** The most characteristic theme in both religions is the faith that fasting and prayer are for the purpose of deferring Judgement Day. On this day God sits on his throne of majesty and sentences souls to life or death. In Judaism, "Prayer, repentance, and charity avert the harsh decree." On 'Āshūrā' Day as well, purification through ritual bestows upon the faithful the merit to live another year: This is the Judgment day on which it is determined on high who will live and who will die.

## Summary

The central significance of Yom Kippur is its function as a day of fasting and atonement for sins, asking for forgiveness from one's neighbor. This also the significance of 'Āshūrā' Day, which is meant to preserve the memory of Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, the father of the Shī'ite community, to request forgiveness and atone for sins that the community has committed by deserting him to die.

Repentance, fasting, affliction of souls and purification through ritual bestow on the faithful the merit to continue living their lives. 'Āshūrā' Day is the Day of Judgment, when it is decreed on high who will live and who will die. All these points evoke, despite the great differences, characteristics of the Jewish Yom Kippur.

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<sup>27</sup> Halm, 1997, p. 42. See also Chelkowski, 1979, p. 85.

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## NOTE AND DISCUSSION

# ‘Three of them’ and ‘the three of them’ in Hebrew\*

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Of the various types of the construct chain in Hebrew, phrases such as Gn 22.2 אֶחָד הַהָרִים ‘one of the mountains’ and Jdg 5.29 חֲכָמוֹת שְׂרוּתֶיהָ ‘the wise amongst her ladies’ are classified as equivalent to partitive genitive: the entity indicated by the first noun phrase represents only part of the total of the entity indicated by the second noun phrase.<sup>1</sup> This holds for ‘three of them’ in the title of this study, for ‘they’ number more than three. However, the same numeral in *the three of them* is different, for *they* are of the same number. So also in Mishnaic Hebrew: Qid 4.14 הַחֲמִיִּין רֶבֶן רְשָׁעִים ‘Ass-drivers are most of them wicked.’

Numerals as the first noun phrase, *nomen regens*, display, however, a certain peculiarity.

a) The cardinal numeral for *one* never takes a suffix. Thus the first example mentioned above cannot be transformed into \*אַחָדָם: ‘one of them’ is expressed by means of the preposition מִן: Ps 106.11 אֶחָד מֵהֶם or Dt 25.5 אֶחָד מֵהֶם.<sup>2</sup>

\* The author is indebted to a student of mine, Mr Robert Kerr, for some of the references.

<sup>1</sup> See P. Joüon - T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Rome, 1991 [1993]), §129 f(8).

<sup>2</sup> Old Aramaic and Classical Arabic, however, do allow direct annexation: Sefire IB 45, III 19 חֶדְהָם ‘one of them’ and Saadia’s Arabic translation at Dt 25.5 *‘ahaduhumā* ‘one of them two’ and Nu 16.15 *‘ahaduhum*, side by side with indirect annexation as at Gn 3.22 כְּאֶחָד מֵמֶנֶּנוּ ‘like one of us’ — *kawāḥidi minnā*.

When the nomen rectum is a substantive, both syntagms are attested: Dt 19.5 **אֶחָד מִן הָעֵרִים הָאֵלֶּה** || ib. 4.42 **אֶחָד מִן הָעֵרִים הָאֵלֶּה**; 2Kg 4.22 **אֶחָד מִן הַנְּעָרִים** וְאַחַת הָאֲתֻנּוֹת.

b) The cardinal numerals for *two* to *ten* inclusive may take a pronominal suffix directly attached to them. The meaning of such a construction is never partitive, but appositional.

On the numeral for *two* with a suffix, see what we wrote elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> I am now disinclined to translate any of the examples with “both”: e.g., Nu 25.8 **וַיִּדְקֹר אֶת־שְׁנֵיהֶם אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאֵת־הָאִשָּׁה אֶל־קִבְתָּהּ** ‘and he transfigured the two of them,..., pinning them together’ (NEB).<sup>4</sup> Cf. 1Kg 3.18 **וּזְלָתִי שְׁתֵּי אֲנָחֲנוּ** ‘except the two of us.’

See Nu 12.4 **צֵאוּ שְׁלֹשָׁתְכֶם** ‘Come out, you three’ (the reference is to Moses, Aaron and Miriam)<sup>5</sup>; Dn 1.17 **הַיְלָדִים הָאֵלֶּה אַרְבַּעָתָם** ‘these four young men’ (the reference is to Daniel and his three companions); 2Sm 21.9 **שִׁבְעָתָם** ‘they seven’ (referring to seven of Saul’s sons mentioned in vs. 6).<sup>6</sup>

To sum up:

1. The Hebrew cardinal numeral for *one* never takes a pronominal suffix.
2. Any of the cardinal numerals between two and ten may take a pronominal suffix. Such a syntagm is never partitive, but appositional: thus **שְׁלֹשָׁתָם** ‘they three,’ not ‘three of them.’
3. The partitive notion is expressed: a) either by means of a construct phrase such as Gn 22.2 **אֶחָד הַהָרִים** ‘one of the mountains’ or through a prepositional phrase 1Sm 17.13 **שְׁלֹשֶׁת בְּנֵי־יֵשׁוּ הַגְּדֹלִים** ‘three of the elder sons of Jesse,’<sup>7</sup> b) or by means of the prepositional syntagm, e.g. Nu 31.47 **אֶחָד מִן הַחֲמִשִּׁים** ‘one of the fifty,’ Lv 13.2 **אֶחָד מִבְּנָיו** ‘one of his sons,’ Ps 106.11 **אֶחָד מֵהֶם** ‘one of them,’ Dt 25.5 **אֶחָד מֵהֶם**; 1Ch 11.15 **שְׁלוֹשָׁה מִן־הַשְּׁלוּשִׁים** ‘three of the thirty.’

<sup>3</sup> “Biblical Hebrew philological notes (2),” in S. Shaked *et al.* (eds), *Studies in Semitic Linguistics in Honor of Joshua Blau* [Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam 15] (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1992), 43–54, esp. 50–51.

<sup>4</sup> Note a subtle distinction in German between *Meine beiden Töchter sind bereits verheiratet* and *Meine Töchter sind beide verheiratet*.

<sup>5</sup> Peshitta: **ሰላሳተኛ**; Ethiopic *šalāstikkamu*; Saadia *ṭalātatakum* (*ṭalātātakum* in ed. Derenbourg is an error — personal communication from Dr G. Khan of Cambridge).

<sup>6</sup> On the usage in Arabic, see W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language* (Cambridge, 1898), p. 234D.

<sup>7</sup> The use of the construct form of the numeral does not automatically mean partitive function of the syntagm, thus a source of syntactic ambiguity: e.g., 1Kg 7.32 **אַרְבַּעַת הָאֵפוֹנִים** ‘the four wheels,’ for there were not more.